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CSCE COMMISSIONS RESUME WORK IN VIENNA

LD281310 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] Vienna January 28 TASS -- Today sittings of commissions started at the Vienna meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They are attended by delegates of 33 European countries, as well as by the USA and Canada. They discuss issues of guaranteeing security and progress in disarmament, cooperation in economy, trade, science and technology, environmental protection, human rights and development of humanitarian cooperation. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries made on these questions some specific constructive proposals reflecting their desire to do their utmost for the success of this international forum in the interests of all nations.

East, West Exchange Criticism

AU271630 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Didier Fauqueux report]

[Excerpts] Vienna, Jan 27 (AFP) -- U.S. and Soviet delegates exchanged criticism over human rights abuses at the resumption of the third review conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) here Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Soviet delegation leader Yuriy Kashlev, accusing Western nations of coming to the conference "in a spirit of confrontation," He said the United States was guilty of human-rights violations such as holding "thousands of people in jail and condemned to death." He also accused the West of violating human rights with its "legions of unemployed" and homeless people. The Soviet delegate added that criticism from the West, which he called "psychological warfare," hampered the "radical changes" which the Soviet Union is undergoing.

East and West were also at odds over the next step, with the West insisting on a full report on implementation of earlier decisions before moving on to new proposals by the East block, including a human rights conference in Moscow. There were no new developments on security since Monday, when Mr. Zimmerman in preliminary negotiations said that talks would soon begin in Vienna to work out reductions of conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains.

The first session of the CSCE's third round opened November 4, with the 35 signatory nations of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act attending. This includes all of Europe plus Albania, the United States and Canada.

PRAVDA Cites Kashlev Speech

PM281206 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 JAN 87 First Edition p 6

[Own correspondent B. Dubrovin report: "Constructive Work Is Needed: Vienna Meeting Resumes"

[Text] Vienna, 27 Jan -- The Vienna meeting of states which took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe resumed in the Hofburg Palace here today, after a break.

In his speech the head of the USSR delegation, Ambassador Yu. V. Kashlev, stated, in particular: "The Soviet delegation has returned to Vienna with the firm intention of doing everything possible for the meeting's success." Recalling that the first stage of the Vienna meeting was marked, on the one hand, by major constructive initiatives from the Warsaw Pact states on a wide range of questions of security, economic cooperation, the environment, and also human rights and humanitarian problems, the Soviet spokesman pointed out that at the same time certain NATO countries came to the meeting empty-handed.

The United States and a number of its allies failed to make a single constructive proposal, using the meeting as a platform only for statements in the spirit of "psychological warfare" and for attempts to misrepresent the nature of the socialist countries' policy and grossly distort the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the concluding document of the Madrid meeting.

To conclude his speech the head of the Soviet delegation expressed the hope that reason, good will, and a common commitment to success will prevail and that the participants in the Vienna meeting, renouncing the tactics of procrastination and confrontation, will go over to constructive work.

IZVESTIYA Views Talks

PM281109 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent N. Novikov report under the "Vienna Meeting" rubric: "Justifying Hopes"]

[Text] Vienna -- Once again the national flags of the 35 countries are flying above the Hofburg Palace in Vienna. The Vienna meeting of representatives of the states party to the CSCE states is resuming work 27 January after the recess. The halls of the Hofburg Palace are busy and the press center, where more than 1,000 journalists from 47 countries are accredited, is bustling, so great is the world public's interest in the Vienna forum.

That is understandable. The peoples have a vital interest in ridding the planet of the threat of nuclear conflagration. The preservation of peace on earth depends on many factors bound in a tight knot. Life has shown this knot can only be unraveled by collective efforts guided by a political thinking corresponding to the realities of the nuclear missile age after recognizing the growing interdependence of our contradictory world and the need to create an all-embracing system of international security.

It goes without saying the main problem now facing mankind -- the problem of survival -- is equally acute and urgent for Europe, Africa, America, and Asia. In the situation which has taken shape the role and significance of the all-European process, the strengthening of peace,and the elaboration of disarmament measures in Europe are increasing particularly. The Vienna meeting is expected to make a weighty contribution to the solution of these most important tasks.

Incidentally, the successful completion of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe confirmed that the practical implementation of disarmament on the continent is possible. Indeed, it follows from the document adopted in the Swedish capital that "Stockholm I" will lead directly to "Stockholm II" and to the adoption of disarmament measures in Europe. [paragraph continues]

On this question, too, the Vienna meeting should have a substantial say by giving the Stockholm conference the kind of mandate which would make it possible to devote maximum attention to the problems of disarmament in Europe. Especially since there already exists a balanced program of European disarmament formulated by the Warsaw Pact countries. This program, as a number of delegations have stated, is quite suitable for examination at the Stockholm conference.

At the Vienna forum's first stage of work a concrete proposal was submitted by Poland to elaborate the mandate for "Stockholm II" in Vienna. Delegations from Yugoslavia, Sweden, Austria, Malta, and other countries spoke in the same vein. That opinion is supported by the Greek foreign minister, I. Papoulias, and by Finnish Foreign Minister P. Vayrynen who advocated in an interview in the newspaper HUFVUDSTADSBLADET that an accord be reached in Vienna "on a new conference mandate" so that its next stage should discuss confidence and security measures and disarmament measures in parallel.

The NATO countries showed a completely different approach to this most important problem during the first round of the meeting. They came to Vienna without a definite stance on the question of confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. The NATO countries' representatives avoided a discussion of this topical problem. That was no coincidence if you bear in mind that Washington and its main NATO partners have chosen the path of implementing new militarist programs, the path of wrecking the accords outlined in Reykjavik, and the path leading to the actual buildup of armaments in Europe. The Americans refused to heed the tone of the discussion in the Hofburg Palace. It clearly showed the majority of participants in the Vienna meeting understand it could make a tangible contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

The political climate in Europe depends to a considerable extent on the state of East-West economic, scientific, and technical ties. Economic, ecological, scientific, and technical problems have long been the subject of broad international cooperation. The Soviet Union and the European socialist countries are ready for the broadest economic cooperation with other member-states on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

However, the discriminatory policy of a number of Western countries and the flagrant violation of the spirit and letter of Helsinki and Madrid by Western countries are the main obstacle to raising East-West economic cooperation to a qualitatively new level. Boycotts, embargoes, lists of goods prohibited from being exported to the socialist countries, and the violation of existing contracts and agreements -- does it have to be said that all this has an adverse effect both on the volume and the character of East-West economic ties. In the interests of the European process there must be new thinking in this sphere, too. It is necessary to grasp the objective reality of the interdependence and complementarity of the economies of East and West.

The socialist, neutral, and nonaligned countries taking part in the Vienna meeting are showing an interest in seeking ways to make more effective use of the potential for reinforcing the material fabric of detente and ensuring economic security and cooperation in Europe. Many delegations support Czechoslovakia's proposal for holding an economic forum in Prague, Bulgaria's proposal to host an ecological forum, and Romania's proposal for a meeting on questions of scientific and technical cooperation.

The discussion on the implementation of the Helsinki and Madrid accords held at the Vienna meeting perhaps attached most significance to international legal problems and the appeal for humanitarian cooperation. [paragraph continues]

Safeguarding man's right to life, freedom, and dignity is the most important practical task involved in saving mankind from perishing in a nuclear war. In the interests of the cause it is necessary to free this question from hypocrisy, speculation, and attempts at interference in other countries' internal affairs. The discussion of this question at the first stage of the meeting was sometimes confrontational in character and reflected an attempt by a number of delegations to distort the essence of the all-European process and turn it into an instrument of ideological and political struggle against the socialist countries. This dishonorable business was "led" by the United States, Canada, and Britain.

Undoubtedly, questions of humanitarian cooperation merit close attention. In Vienna the Soviet Union has submitted a proposal to hold in Moscow a representative conference of the all-European conference member-states on the whole range of humanitarian problems including contacts among people and questions of information, culture, and education; this proposal aroused understandable interest among those taking part in the meeting.

...The delegations of the countries taking part in the forum are reassembling in Vienna after a recess of more than a month. The diplomats have had sufficient time to summarize the results of the first stage of the meeting and outline the prospects for the future. The weeks ahead will show how the discussion in the Hofburg Palace will develop. Millions of people interested in strengthening security and cooperation in Europe hope that decisions will be reached in Vienna which ensure greater security and a higher level of cooperation in all spheres.

MIKHAYLOV LEADS USSR ARMS TALKS DELEGATION

LD281548 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 18 Jan 87

[Text] Vienna January 28 TASS -- A Soviet delegation led by Valerian Mikhaylov arrived in Vienna today to take part in the scheduled round of the talks on the mutual reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

KORIONOV COMMENTARY ON U.S. TEST BAN STANCE

PM271153 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 87 First Edition p 1

[Vitaliy Korionov commentary: "Day 539"]

[Text] Today is day 539 of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. The silence on Soviet test ranges is being recorded by U.S. seismic apparatus set up in the Semipalatinsk region. But the U.S. press is reporting preparations in Nevada for the next U.S. nuclear explosion -- the 25th since the Soviet moratorium was announced.

The fourth round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on ending nuclear tests started at the end of last week in Geneva. At these talks too the USSR continues to uphold its principled line that a total nuclear test ban is the paramount measure on the way to reducing and subsequently eliminating nuclear arms. This question must be resolved urgently.

But what about the United States? Recently the White House informed the Senate that the administration was finally ready to examine the question of ratification of the 1974 Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. So then, has the ice perhaps been broken? Unfortunately, there are as yet no grounds for such a statement. The fact is that the administration simultaneously announced that treaties purportedly cannot be effectively verified [proverka] and therefore verification [kontrol] measures must be perfected beforehand.

Thus, it is the same old story. As is well known, the United States has modern technical verification [kontrol] measures at its disposal which provide a cast-iron guarantee that any nuclear explosion will be picked up. It is also well known that the United States obtains seismic information from almost 200 verification [kontrolnyy] stations located in various parts of the world, including along the Soviet Union's borders. Soviet territory is completely "covered" by these stations. It is also well known that the Soviet Union is no less interested than the United States in establishing the strictest forms of verification [kontrol].

Those who oppose the United States joining the Soviet moratorium highlight yet another "argument": The USSR, you see, "violates treaties." The administration has alleged that Moscow "in all probability" has stopped observing the 1974 treaty.

However, such conjecture has already been exposed by people whose probity the White House cannot doubt. The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee held hearings on this question the other day. Speeches were made at the hearings by R. Batzel, director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, and (Z. Kheker), director of the Los Alamos Nuclear Laboratory. Research has shown, R. Batzel stated, that the "treaty is being observed" by the Soviet Union. There are no grounds for claiming that the USSR has ever gone beyond the limitations laid down under the treaty, (Z Kheker) stated...

The Soviet Union has given the Reagan administration around 18 months to think over one of the most urgent questions of our time. So is it not time for Washington to come to its senses, join the moratorium, and set about curbing the nuclear race in deeds rather than words -- which is what the peoples worldwide are so ardently expecting and what the Soviet Union has been urging it to do.

WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

LD251908 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Jan 87

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Andrianov, all-union radio foreign political commentator; Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of ZA RUBEZHOM; and Vadim Nikolayevich Nekrasov, international observer of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello, Comrades! This week, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev sent a message to the leaders of the so-called Delhi Six. This document was sent to statesmen from Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania, with regard to the declaration they adopted in connection with the ending of 1986. In his message the Soviet leader first of all expressed complete agreement with the view that it is essential to preserve by joint efforts the historic landmarks along the road toward a nuclear freee world which were achieved at the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik, and to prevent the specific landmarks in nuclear disarmament which were mapped out there from being washed away. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed how important it is now to concentrate specifically upon the problem of eliminating nuclear weapons, rather than on developing [razrabotka] all manner of programs based on the premise that these terrible weapons are endlessly going to threaten the end of our planet, and in order that ridding the world of nuclear weapons before the end of the present century may not remain an unfulfilled dream.

[Nekrasov] I would say that the message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the leaders of the Delhi Six fits in closely with his message to the UN secretary general, which was published somewhat earlier. In that message, the results of the past year were added up; in this one, the precise prospects for action in the new year are mapped out. Clearly this is precisely the reason why Comrade Gorbachev's message has attracted attention not just from the leaders of the Delhi Six, because it deals with the same basic issues which are currently at the center of international life and at the center of international relations. Thus, as you will recall, the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments have resumed in Geneva and the Soviet delegation there is continuing to defend the proposals we have submitted, which are aimed at sharply reducing and then eliminating all nuclear armaments and at ensuring a peaceful space. I would say that currently the world is waiting for U.S. nuclear tests. As you remember, they first scheduled them for 29 January, then another date was announced -- 5 February -- and the peoples are waiting and wondering whether in fact common sense is going to gain the upper hand in Washington. Well, frankly speaking, this does not look likely.

[Andrianov] By all accounts the position of the U.S. side on this vitally important issue continues to remain totally unconstructive.

[Nekrasov] Here is another thing I would like to mention about an event on a day that is not long past. News of this event has only now filtered through into the press, though it took place more than a month ago, on 17 December. On that day Reagan held a conference, taking part in which were the director of the organization which is implementing the Strategic Defense Initiative -- there already is such an organization which is in charge of these Star Wars plans; and then Secretary of Defense Weinberger, and Richard Perle, his assistant for political affairs.

The President was given an outline of a plan for accelerating preparations for the militarization of space. Let's remember how these matters used to be presented in the past by Reagan himself. To begin with we will study the possibilities, how effective it is, and how much it is going to cost. Then we will decide whether we are going to develop [sozdavat] such a system in practice. It was expected -- and this was reported by American journalists -- that the whole of these preparations would take approximately 10-12 years.

[Andrianov] In this connection I think it would be useful to remember Reykjavik. When President Reagan said at his meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that the United States is prepared to give an undertaking to observe the Soviet-U.S. treaty limiting antiballistic missile defense systems -- the so-called ABM Treaty -- for a further 10 years, his thinking was that these 10 years would indeed be spent on preparations for the creation [sozdaniye] of space weapons. That is precisely the way in which well-informed American journalists explained the gist of Reagan's proposal.

[Nekrasov] Well, given the fact that we have gotten onto the subject of Reykjavik, I think it would also be worth reminding our listeners of the alarm with which reactionary circles in the United States received the news about the progress which had been made there on the question of reducing and subsequently eliminating strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range weapons in Europe. More than 3 months have already passed since Reykjavik, but it has to be said that to this day in these U.S. circles, when the Reykjavik accords are mentioned, they disown them as though they belong to the devil himself.

But there's nothing to be done about it. Reykjavik showed that there is a real possibility of reaching agreement on building a nuclear-free world. This fact cannot be shaken by any propaganda attacks. In this situation, then, the circles of the military-industrial complex began undermining these accords in a practical way. The conference in the White House which I have just mentioned was one such intrigue. Those taking part in it proposed that Reagan should confirm a plan for starting creation [sozdaniye] of the space shield -- as it was called -- in 6 or 7 years' time, that is to say in 1993 or 1994. It means not waiting for the development [sozdaniye] of models of real space strike weapons, but starting to launch into space what is already available today and what is going to be available tomorrow. Why the hurry? What does all this mean? It means -- having started the practical development [sozdavat] of the so-called space shield -- forestalling and breaking any accord dealing with radical reductions in nuclear weapons. Those behind this plan are clearly proceeding from the view that the Soviet Union will take such a decision as an irreversible step in the militarization of space and will itself renounce its proposals regarding the reduction of strategic armaments. A blatant provocation on a major scale has thus been conceived.

[Andrianov] Vadim Nikolayevich, those behind such plans must be taking into consideration the fact that such a fervent champion of Star Wars as Reagan will leave the White House by the beginning of 1989 and no one knows how his successor will behave. In other words, they cannot be sure that their calculations will be supported by the next incumbent of the White House.

[Nekrasov] That's the point, this is what they are taking into consideration. None other than Edwin Meese, the U.S. Attorney General, and one of the people very close to the President, said, and I quote, that the enthusiasts for the Strategic Defense Initiative -- that is what the Star Wars plans are called -- are seeking the commencement of experimental design work, partly in order that the program may not be harmed by a future administration.

[Andrianov] And do you expect they will be able to bring off their plan, Vadim Nikolayevich, or more accurately, do you think they have grounds for counting on success?

[Nekrasov] Well, of course there is going to be a struggle here, and not a straightforward struggle. The significance of this plan, its true meaning, has not escaped the attention of sensible people in the United States, and some fairly broad public forces have joined in on this issue: Kurt Gottfried, for example, the director of the United States Union of Concerned Scientists, states the only result of such a step would be to deal a mortal blow against the arms control process and to guarantee the continuation of work on the Strategic Defense Initiative, irrespective of the conclusions reached in further scientific research. As I have said, the struggle ahead is going to be a fairly serious one. It remains a fact that the U.S. propaganda media is responsible for the fact that a majority of Americans believe that the Strategic Defense Initiative -- this notorious space shield -- is the best means of preventing a nuclear conflict, and there is therefore a great struggle ahead on this issue.

[Volskiy] Vadim Nikolayevich, we have been saying a great deal today about the U.S. Administration's desire to speed up implementation of the SDI program, but that is not an isolated development. That course cannot be separated from what is taking place on the ground, to be more precise, from deliberate actions in various regions of our planet which are aimed -- like the militarization of space -- at securing global superiority for the United States and at asserting their dominating position in the world. In particular, I am thinking about the policy which has been called neoglobalism in recent years, during the present administration, but which has in fact been implemented for a long time now. Now it is being primarily displayed in the Third World, primarily in attempts to undermine, and if possible, to overthrow those governments and regimes which maintain a progressive orientation. As you know, we see this in Cambodia, in Angola, in Nicaragua and particularly in Afghanistan. Of course the situation everywhere is different, very different, but the example of Afghanistan particularly shows that regional conflicts of this kind, as they are now called, are capable of becoming very protracted and very destructive; this hampers both national development in the country in question and the strengthening of peace in the region concerned. This is why the program of national reconciliation which has been submitted by the DRA leadership is of such great importance.

[Andrianov] Dmitriy Antonovich, I think it would be worth recalling briefly what this program consists of, what it amounts to essentially. First of all it is essential to secure a cease-fire, as announced by the DRA, from 15 January; and then to progress toward the establishing of a government of a coalition character, with the participation of the opposition, including forces which are currently in emigration. The path toward participation in the coalition government has not been closed to any of the groupings.

[Volskiy] If we were to take a look at this program, Boris Vasilyevich, perhaps from the position of a broader world outlook, then I would note that the program of national reconciliation is a product of truly new, present-day, political thinking. What is written between the lines, so to speak, contains an understanding of the fact that peace as a political value common to the whole nation is more important than the interests of different groups, be they tribal, religious, even social and so on. Today the watershed lies not between those who support and those who do not support the program of the PDPA, but between those who are opposed to war and those who are in favor of its continuation. The undeclared war against Afghanistan has brought too many victims and too much destruction for its people to go on putting up with it. But there is something else, too, that has to be stressed. This constructive approach certainly does not mean that the revolutionary process in Afghanistan is on an ebb tide, as is sometimes stated in the West.

On the contrary, the present program is a further development and deepening of the line that the Afghan leadership has now been implementing for a long time, a course toward widening the social base of the Afghan revolution and toward ensuring the return home of those who have left the homeland. In a word, a course toward peace within the country, and of course the new program, I would say, is a qualitative landmark, a shift forward, along this course of principle.

[Andrianov] Dmitriy Antonovich, one very important element is the fact this program has met with complete support from the Soviet Union; it has been received with understanding in India and in many other developing countries, in the parties that belong to the Socialist International and in general it has met with the widest international recognition. In the United States, however, which is in the wings in the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan, the attitude toward the program of national reconciliation in Afghanistan is totally different.

[Volskiy] But, Boris Vasilyevich, there are enough negative statements about the Afghan program from the United States. I think it can definitely be said now that the initiative of the Afghan leadership has taken Washington unaware and has caused embarrassment in United States political circles. Washington politicians really are in a difficult position. They've been trying for years now to blame Kabul and Moscow for what is going on in Afghanistan, but now, in the light of the new initiative, such attempts look particularly self-exposing for the United States in the eyes of all unprejudiced people.

As for the program of the Afghan leadership, it is already working -- in three directions, I would say. First, it clearly facilitates a settlement of the problems that have arisen around Afghanistan, about which not for the first year, though with intervals, Afghan-Pakistan talks, in particular, have been taking place through the good offices of the representative of the UN secretary general. A settlement to the problem of the return to the motherland of the limited Soviet troop contingent invited by the Afghan Government is now not far off, as was stressed recently in Kabul by USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze.

Second, the Afghan initiative influences a turning point in international public opinion.

Third and finally, within Afghanistan, many formations which were engaged in armed struggle have accepted the Kabul initiative, and understanding of it is growing among rank-and-file members of other such formations.

[Andrianov] Maybe understanding is growing among the rank-and-file members. That's quite plausible, you see. But the United States is clearly bringing pressure to bear on the leaders of the main formations. They are exerting pressure so as to make them continue the fratricidal war.

[Volskiy] Yes, a war that, as one U.S. paper put it, the United States would like to fight to the last Afghan, even though such a line is dangerous not least of all for Washington itself, since it disturbs the stability of a very important region in Asia. That's the trouble. It is precisely this line that is dictated by that policy of neoglobalism that we were talking about. That policy provides not for the extinguishing, but for the kindling, of regional conflicts, including some in Asia.

The Irangate scandal made that perfectly clear. The U.S. bourgeois press seeks to turn the scandal only inward by talking about the White House's relations with Congress, infringement of United States laws and the rules of U.S. politics, and so on.

What is far more important, though, is something else: The interference by the United States, proven to everyone's satisfaction, for the purpose of stoking up the Iran-Iraq conflict, which has already cost those two countries hundreds of thousands of lives. For that purpose, Washington and Tel Aviv set up specially a whole mechanism, the dangerous working consequences of which we are already now observing. The military operations on the Iran-Iraq front, particularly in the vicinity of Basra, have intensified, not least of all, as the U.S. press itself acknowledges, as a result of arms supplies from the United States. The peace proposals of Iraq and the attempts at mediation by various parties have not brought about peace so far. On the contrary, the war is tending to spread, threatening to spill over into neighboring countries too, into the Persian Gulf states and others, and to destabilize the situation in that important area.

[Andrianov] In this situation, the recent statement by the Soviet Government, which once again called for a cessation, for an end to the Iran-Iraq war, in my view takes on a particular urgency.

[Volskiy] Well, that's all the more important now, Boris Vasilyevich, since, on the pretext of ensuring freedom of passage for shipping in the Persian Gulf, U.S. warships are being concentrated nearby once more. One wonders whether someone in Washington is about to use the Iran-Iraq conflict, which they themselves are inciting, to prepare a United States intervention in this oil-producing region. At any rate, they're keeping the pretext for that ready at hand.

[Andrianov] Action by the forces of peace gives rise all the time to opposition from international reaction, and I should like to stress in this connection, that peace efforts by the Soviet Union, for example, are giving rise to apprehension in certain circles of the capitalist world. This is indicated, specifically, by the recent trips of Japanese Foreign Minister Kuranari to several countries in the South Pacific. He traveled around for nearly 2 weeks. He visited Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Vanuatu and Papua-New Guinea. The trip was accompanied by a noisy, not to say hysterical, propaganda campaign. The Japanese newspaper ASAHI, for instance, claimed that the Japanese minister's trip resulted from the wish to strengthen political stability in the South Pacific Region. But let's leave that claim to one side for the moment to come back to it later. Let's take a look at the Kuranari trip from the viewpoint of a person who has a right to ask the perfectly natural question: Why has Tokyo suddenly started to devote such fixed attention to the South Pacific? After all, it's no secret that the Japanese minister's visit is just one item in a whole package of measures designed by the Nakasone government to rapidly activate the links of the Land of the Rising Sun with the island states in that region.

[Nekrasov] Yes, the facts indicate that it's clearly a matter of a whole package of measures. Well, I should think it's enough to say that in the foreign policy department of Japan a special headquarters has been established, charged with coordinating all Tokyo's measures to influence the countries of the South Pacific. The Kuranari trip seems to have been one of these measures. During the visit, he expounded Tokyo's so-called Pacific doctrine. It contains the main thrusts of Japanese foreign policy in the South Pacific, and, laying on the lofty words unstintingly, the Japanese foreign minister called his plan the Pacific community of the future, which he seems to regard as being on the road to joint prosperity. He chose words that hark back to World War II.

[Andrianov] Yes, that's true. The terminology is certainly not new. One only has to recall the imperial trade of the greater East Asia coprosperity sphere under the aegis of Japan.

It was once preached by Japanese militarists to justify the policy of aggression directed against other countries and peoples. What that policy led to is well known. However, the milieu that sustains militarism and expansionism has not disappeared at all. It resurrects all kinds of antiquated notions that are nowadays in favor with official Tokyo, which has set itself the objective of perpetuating the position of the South Pacific island states as estates of the West. One does not, of course, need to possess a vivid imagination to see why the ruling circles of Japan were in such a hurry. They are now anxious to sweep away, by any means, the strengthening contacts between the Soviet Union and the states of the Asian-Pacific region, and to ward off the attractive force of our country's proposals for normalizing the situation in that part of the world.

The Japanese Government gave a hostile reception to the large-scale program for peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation, and the establishing of a stable system of comprehensive security in the Asia-Pacific region. That program, as you recall, was set forth by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the speech he made in Vladivostok on 28 July last year.

[Volskiy] In that connection, Boris Vasilyevich, I should like to draw attention to the fact that our country has demonstrated not only an unconventional approach to the solution of the problems which have become imminent in Asia and the Pacific Ocean. It has also taken a number of practical steps, too, in that direction. Last November, for example, the Soviet Union participated for the first time in the work of the conference on economic cooperation of the countries of the Pacific Ocean basin, Moreover, it expressed an interest in becoming a fully-fledged member of that non-government organization. Our country signed a mutually beneficial fishing agreement with Kiribati, a small island republic in the South Pacific. We are conducting talks over such an agreement with another similar republic, Vanuatu. By word and deed the Soviet Union is confirming its peaceful aspiration, which pervades the program set out by Comrade Gorbachev in Vladivostok.

[Andrianov] Official Tokyo interprets this program as something quite different. It does not perceive in it the prospect of turning the Pacific Ocean into an area of peace and prosperity. Japan's ruling circles have seen in this peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union above all a threat to their own interests. However, the Soviet proposals provoked such a broad positive response in the states of the Pacific Ocean that Japan felt it essential to oppose our country's peace initiative with at least something. It is no secret in official Tokyo circles that it was all organized at Washington's insistence. The U.S. Administration is literally being driven mad by the striving of the South Pacific states to establish mutually beneficial economic relations with the Soviet Union. But that is not the only issue, of course.

Washington is also annoyed at the growth of antinuclear feelings in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean. Both the example of New Zealand, which does not allow ships carrying nuclear weapons to enter its ports, and the decision of the South Pacific Forum, which includes 13 states, to sign a treaty banning the siting [razmeshcat], production, and testing of nuclear weapons in that region, are proof that these feelings are acquiring more and more influence in that region.

[Nekrasov] By all accounts, precisely those circumstances, also the Soviet Union's rapid agreement to support the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific, and by signing the corresponding protocols -- all that was regarded in Washington, and Tokyo, too, as a weakening of political stability in that region.

Behind that formulation can be detected a fear that the independent course of the states situated there may undermine the United States' claims to hegemony in that part of the planet. According to the phrase in the London magazine THE ECONOMIST, the United States is trying to check the spread of nuclear allergy, as the magazine puts it. They are alarmed by the effect of New Zealand's example on the public in the Philippines, Japan, and South Korea. It is apprehension over such an outcome of events that has forced Washington to resort to Tokyo's assistance, and this in no small measure because the United States itself, by not wishing to take account of the national interests of the island states, has well and truly ruined its relations with them.

[Andrianov] The design behind Japan's present venture is perfectly clear: To retain the South Pacific as a sphere of Western influence. We have already talked about that.

At the same time, by stepping up its economic pressure in the region, Japan has, in my view, planned to solve one more task. Together with an increase in the United States' military presence, it is wholly evident, that Tokyo's actions are called upon to hinder the implementation of the decisions by the South Pacific Forum for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the region. This means Tokyo's so-called Pacific doctrine turns into an attempt to erect a barrier obstructing the Pacific Ocean states' striving toward peace and cooperation on behalf of future generations.

[Nekrasov] Today we have talked about the United States and the Pacific Ocean region, but I would like to make a remark of a general nature. What led me to make this remark was a publication in the U.S. magazine INTERNATIONAL POLICY REPORT. This is the organ of the New York Institute for the Study of World Politics -- this private research organization exists in the United States. In one of the latest issues it devoted a large article to the general state of, and prospects for, the development of the world situation. The magazine writes: It is difficult to say whether the Western countries will speak in favor of further militarization, as a means of guaranteeing their security, or whether they will depart from the present military plans, including the plans for developing [sozdaniye] space weapons, and will follow the path of demilitarizing international relations. As you see, the formulation is a sharp one. What conclusion does the magazine draw? This is the conclusion: Taking account of the dynamic nature of the present arrangement of political forces, both paths are possible. As you see, the U.S. magazine's opinion coincides with the conclusion drawn by the 27th CPSU Congress regarding the watershed nature of the present stage in the development of international relations. So I repeat, a struggle lies ahead for improving the world situation. A serious, intense, and prolonged struggle. And of course, in that struggle a great role and a great responsibility will be had by public forces throughout the world, including the United States and West Europe, by the same social forces which have already been struggling energetically for a number of years, for an end to nuclear tests, for the withdrawal of U.S. missiles from Europe, for the total elimination of nuclear weapons and for the practical implementation of the ideas and proposals submitted by the Soviet Union in accordance with the new political way of thinking.

[Andrianov] There we end our meeting today at the roundtable. All the participants thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade radio listeners. Goodbye. All the best.

GERASIMOV ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS ON POLICY ISSUES

LD271915 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center today.

Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Department of Information noted that the 27th CPSU Congress stressed the necessity for further activation of Soviet foreign policy in all directions, the search for a just and peaceful elimination of hotbeds of tension, and the development of mutually advantageous relations with all states. The line toward active implementation of our course in international affairs will remain in force and will remain intact.

The journalists were informed about the outcome of the trip to Islamabad by Kovalev, first deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs, who, in a discussion with Pakistan President Ziaul Haq, spoke as a personal representative of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. A prominent place in the discussions was taken by the issues connected with a settlement concerning Afghanistan. The Soviet side set out its position of support for the program of national reconciliation in the DRA. It is important that like Moscow and Kabula, Islamabad is interested in the speediest possible achievement of a settlement through political means.

A report was given on the visit to India by Petrovskiy, deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs, where consultations on many issues were held. Discussed in particular were the problems in creating an international space center and demilitarizing the Indian Ocean.

The briefing was also addressed by Vasin, deputy USSR minister of civil aviation. He gave details concerning the investigation of the Mozambique aircraft catastrophe on RSA [Republic of S. Africa] territory. The aircraft had a Soviet crew. The facts leave no doubt that the TU-134 incident was the result of a deliberate subversive operation a false radio beacon, which led to the aircraft veering from its set course and hitting the ground in a highland area.

Discusses Japan's Defense Budget

LD272218 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS -- According to Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who spoke at a briefing for Soviet and Foreign Journalists held here today, the decision taken by the Japanese Government on January 24 under which from now on military expenditures will be determined by an overall volume of allocations for the fulfillment of five-year plans of the Japanese Self-Defense Force is aimed at substantially building up the Armed Forces of the country, it means the drawing up of Japan into the realization of Washington's strategy.

Gerasimov emphasized that Tokyo had actually turned down the official ceiling of military expenditures amounting to one percent of the gross natural product which had existed since 1976. This decision does not lead to the lessening of tension in the Far East.

What is important is not the small fractions of one percent by which the Japanese side is going to exceed the limits established by itself.

The thing is that the government has cancelled its own decision as soon as it becomes a hindrance to the implementation of purely military programs. It is not clear how this step can go together with statements of the Japanese Government in support for peace and disarmament, with provisions of the Constitution of Japan and with three non-nuclear principles.

Gerasimov said that Japan should fully realize that the Soviet Union would judge its foreign policy not by peaceful statements but by concrete deeds.

MOSCOW RATIFIES TREATIES WITH PRC, CYPRUS

LD272130 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Text] By a decree dated 26 January 1987, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has ratified a consular treaty between the USSR and the PRC, which was signed in Beijing on 10 September 1986.

A treaty between the USSR and the Republic of Cyprus on legal aid in civil and criminal cases, which was signed in Moscow on 19 January 1984, has also been ratified.

USSR SUBMITS CHERNOBYL DOCUMENTS TO WMO

LD221217 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 22 Jan 87

[Text] Geneva January 22 TASS -- Detailed documents concerning the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and, in particular, their meteorological aspects and radioactive pollution of the environment have been presented to the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO).

This information should belong to the world public, a press conference here on Wednesday was told by Yuriy Izrael, vice president of the WMO, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Hydrometeorology and Natural Environment Monitoring.

A special WMO working group to work out a set of measures in the event of an ejection of dangerous substances into the atmosphere is now in session in Geneva.

Today mankind must solve two global problems: how to save the world from nuclear war and how to protect the environment, the Soviet representative said. The experience of overcoming the consequences of the accident in Chernobyl will be useful also in monitoring the peaceful uses of atomic energy and, still more important, for toughening control over the "military" atom, he said.

PRAVDA REVIEW OF WEEK'S INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

PM281201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[Pavel Demchenko "International Review"]

[Text] It's a Complex, Complex World [subhead]

Without fail the editorial offices of major newspapers and radio and television centers have a room to receive information flowing in from all over the world. [paragraph continues]

Teletypes clatter around the clock there, emitting endless tapes with the coded text of reports on events happening in the world. The teletypes are being replaced by more up-to-date electronic equipment with video display screens, essentially ensuring an instantaneous linkup with any corner of the globe.

Information flows ever faster, its volume increase month by month, year by year. TASS, REUTER, UPI, AFP, DPA, XINHUA, PRENSA LATINA produce tens and hundreds of thousands, millions of words each day. Add to them reports by press organs' own correspondents. The information boom is undoubtedly one of the most graphic phenomena of the 20th century. For all intents and purposes, not even the tiniest corner of the earth remains hidden from the journalist's eye. Our world is large; it contains 159 UN member countries, countries like Switzerland which do not belong to the United Nations, and countries that have yet to gain independence. It contains peoples and nationalities speaking more than 2,500 languages and dialects.

Reading through the reels of teletype tape in our information center, which is on the sixth floor of the PRAVDA building, you perceive the world is not only large but also very complex. The most contradictory trends, phenomena, and events are interwoven on global, regional, and local scales. Even if you take as an example last week, apparently an ordinary one of the 52 weeks which comprise the year.

People, primarily communists, in various countries honored the great Lenin's memory -- 21 January marked the 63d anniversary of his death.

An extraordinary session of the CEMA Executive Council was held in Moscow at the level of deputy head of government. A flood of reports is coming in from Afghanistan on events during the first 10 days of reconciliation.

The FRG is in the grips of election fever, which culminates in the actual casting of votes on Sunday. A referendum on a new constitution will be held in the Philippines a week later, but the situation is already so heated that there is talk about a possible coup d'etat. Extremists have raised their heads again in India. There were major strikes in Spain, the United States, France, and Italy.

Attempts to normalize the situation in Central America and around Nicaragua resumed following a 6-month break. A delegation consisting of eight foreign ministers and the UN and DAU secretaries general visited five capitals in the region. Opposition to this mission was expressed by two countries -- the United States and Honduras.

The financial markets have their own concerns: The U.S. dollar's rate of exchange fell to its lowest level ever -- according to quotations by our Gosbank, the dollar is now worth 64 kopecks, almost one-third less than a year ago. The main West European currencies and the Japanese yen have become more expensive in exchange. It is expected that the United States could gain from this since debts will be paid in cheaper currency and U.S. products will become more affordable for foreign purchasers, even though confidence in the dollar has clearly been shaken. Despondency reigns in many developing countries because, in parallel with the decline in the dollar's exchange rate, there has been an increase in the price of crude oil which they have to purchase.

The Door Remains Open [subhead]

The flood of facts and events also contains something that attracts universal attention and perturbs people in all continents.

People everywhere are following the steps and efforts which could help get rid of the threat of nuclear destruction hanging over our civilization. It is already too great, 50,000 warheads have accumulated on earth--the equivalent of 1 million charges like the one that destroyed Hiroshima. One million! A terrifying figure, a universal danger.

It is evident that the responsibility of great power leaders, primarily those of the USSR and the United States, is particularly great in these circumstances. There is exceptional interest in their actions and initiatives. This week, too, there was extensive comment on M.S. Gorbachev's message to the leaders of the "Delhi Six" -- Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania -- in reply to the declaration they adopted to mark the end of 1986. That year, as our readers recall, was a particular year -- it was proclaimed International Peace Year by the United Nations. This fact reflected mankind's interest in breaking the chain of years of preoccupation with the arms race.

Was this goal successfully attained? Unfortunately not. The reason is well known: Not all states, and primarily not the United States, strove to attain it in practice rather than in words.

Now the Soviet leader reaffirmed in his message to the "Delhi Six" that, on the basis of the program put forward on 15 January 1986, our country will continue the struggle to free the world from the nuclear burden by the end of this century, to prevent the creation [sozdaniye] of space weapons, to ban chemical weapons, and to reduce the confrontation of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The Soviet Union, the message says, will resolutely struggle for progress from the positions reached in Reykjavik and is not canceling any of the proposals made there by us aimed at reducing and subsequently eliminating all nuclear means and ensuring a peaceful space around the planet.

A large part of the message was taken up by the question of banning nuclear explosions which, as is well known, have not been conducted in our country for 18 months. Explosions have thundered on 24 occasions in the United States during that same time period; a program for further nuclear tests has been planned. It is understandable that such a turn of events cannot fail to have an effect on our security. This is precisely why the Soviet Government was forced to take the decision to extend the moratorium until the first U.S. nuclear test in 1987. Of course, if a realistic approach were to prevail in Washington and the United States were to join our unilateral action, the cause of nuclear disarmament could advance. This has not happened yet even though the door remains open: The Soviet Union would be prepared to return to the moratorium on any day of any month if the United States were to decide to end its nuclear explosions. Even if our country were forced to resume nuclear explosions, it will advocate with equal persistence the start of full-scale talks on the problem of the reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons, talks which we are prepared to conduct at any level and at any forum, subject, of course, to participation by the United States.

This message should have been perceived as yet another peace-loving signal originating from Moscow, a call to embark at long last in a businesslike fashion on the solution of a task which perturbs mankind to such an extent, but there has been no favorable reaction in response from Washington. Some people say the White House is now apparently so paralyzed by the "Irangate" it is incapable of taking any decisive actions at all. Is this so in actual reality? After all, we have seen something that is exactly opposite to what would have seemed a logical response to the call by the "Delhi Six" and the signal from Moscow.

Speaking at the National Press Club in Washington, U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger persistently urged the speediest deployment of space weapons and said that a decision on this matter will be made in the very near future. [paragraph continues]

Why such haste? After all, until quite recently Washington administration spokesmen were saying that, to start with, all research work and tests will be completed, and only then will the question of SDI's deployment be resolved. All of a sudden the "hawks" have launched a frontal attack, leaping, as people say, two steps at a time. The reason for this was explained by Attorney General E. Meese without beating around the bush. The SDI champions, he admitted, are in a hurry to move on to the practical implementation of their plans so this program "cannot be interrupted by future administrations."

Weinberger's statement was followed immediately by a press conference by Senators W. Proxmire and B. Johnston and representatives of the Union of Concerned Scientists, who spoke out against the Pentagon's intentions. "Such a decision," Johnston said, for example, "would be not only irresponsible but also dangerous for the country, ... it certainly would open the door for an arms race in space."

Professor K. Gottfried noted the only objective of early deployment of SDI is to eliminate the arms control process. In his words, more than 80 percent of U.S. physicists believe the SDI program could be neutralized by Soviet countermeasures, while 98 percent of members of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences do not believe in the efficiency of "Star Wars" in the foreseeable future.

We can see that the opposition to Reagan's "Star Wars" plans in the United States is now considerable. Admittedly it cannot be described as dominant, but it is highly influential even though it is still difficult to say what effect this will have on actual policies.

Will the Forecasts Come True? [subhead]

In the last few days the Iran-Iraq War, which is already in its 7th year, entered what seems to be its most fierce and bloodiest phase. Both sides report vast figures of losses inflicted on the enemy in the course of battles fought since the end of December. The number of killed and wounded runs into tens of thousands, while tanks and motor vehicles have been burned and guns and mortars put out of action in their hundreds. It is, of course, impossible to consider these figures fully trustworthy, even though it is obvious that Iran is suffering large human losses while Iraq is losing more equipment. The latest events only go to confirm the fact that the Iran-Iraq war has already gone down in 20th century history as one of the most cruel and bloody conflicts.

Battles erupted with renewed force after major Iranian forces -- Army, Guards of the Islamic Revolution, and voluntary youth detachments -- launched an offensive from the north, east, and south against Iraq's second largest city, Basra, with a population of 1 million, as part of the "Karbala'-4" and "Karbala'-5" operations. They succeeded in capturing several islands in the Shatt al-Arab waterway, crossing the waterway, and approaching close to Basra, subjecting the city to continuous artillery fire. The Iraqi forces made desperate efforts to repulse the offensive, defend Basra, and regain the lost bridgeheads. Slightly later the Iranians launched an attack along the shortest line between the border and Baghdad but were also halted there.

The sides did not limit themselves just to operations along the front but also resumed strikes against cities deep in the rear. The Iraqi air force has been very active. The Iranians gave as good as they took, even though it is estimated that their air force is 5-8 times smaller than the Iraqi. Since the start of the year they have launched five missles against Baghdad and their air raids are on a larger scale then before. It cannot be ruled out that this may be the result of secret U.S. arms shipments to Iran, which has managed to bring back into service several combat aircraft which had been grounded because of a shortage of spare parts. [paragraph continues]

In any case the raids, just as the ground operations, are being carried out with particular ferocity.

It must be said that Iran's offensive was not unexpected. Some of the country's leaders recently declared that 1987 would be "the decisive year of victory" and even named March as the latest time for "the successful conclusion of the war." It is natural that such a change in Tehran's stance could not be disregarded: Until quite recently people there were saying that they would wage the war to "punish the Iraqi aggressor" no matter how long it may last or what it may cost.

Foreign observers are trying to give an answer to the question: What is going on, what is happening? Of course, all political forecasts, especially in the East, are unreliable. But the accumulation of facts gives grounds for reflection. The assumption is that we are talking primarily about a changing situation in Iran itself. The country is devastated by an exhausting war, its financial resources are running out, and at the same time its spiritual leader Ayatollah Khomeyni is seriously ill. People around him think: What will happen afterward? There are circles which believe that neither side is capable of gaining final victory by military means and the time has come to start talks.

How can they extricate themselves with honor from a war which has cost so many victims and privations? The capture of Basra or a major bridgehead in the south, and maybe even along the approaches to Baghdad, could have offered just such a chance. Holding such a trump in their "hand" they could have found it easier to respond to, for example, the repeated UN call to cease fire and sit around the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, backstage intrigues around the conflict continue. The role played by the United States looks particularly unseemly. It appears that Washington not only supplied arms to Iran but also offered its "services" to Iraq, which recently came out with several peace initiatives.

Here is what T. Ramadan, Iraq's first deputy prime minister, said in this context in an interview with Britain's THE SUNDAY TIMES: The United States gave Baghdad false information about the supposed place and time of the Iranian offensive. "The Americans' real goal," Ramadan said, "was to drag out the war and use the Iranian threat as a means of pressure on Arab countries."

Now, when the situation has become more complex and the logic of common sense demands that the quest for peace be stepped up, people across the ocean are continuing to think about the same old thing: how to make more profits. Calls are being made one after another to send the fleet to the Persian Gulf and to transport there units from the "Rapid Deployment Forces." Pentagon spokesman R. Sims admitted that "four or five ships" of the U.S. Navy are already in the Persian Gulf. news agencies report that twice as many ships are sailing at full speed in the same direction. To put it briefly, the United States is once again counting on complicating the situation.

Our country pursues a different policy. Let me recall the Soviet Government statement published this month. "The Soviet Government," it says, "is prepared to render any assistance to all honest and constructive efforts, including those within the UN framework, for the purpose of switching the Iran-Iraq conflict to the tracks of peaceful solutions."

This stance of ours, and likewise our practical actions, are based on a realistic assessment of the situation. They reflect a sincere interest in an end to the war and in the success of international efforts aimed at peace.

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PRESIDIUM OPENS IN LISBON

LD241153 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] Lisbon January 24 TASS -- The Bureau of the World Peace Council's (WPC) Presidium has opened a meeting in the Portuguese capital.

The opening ceremony was attended by hundreds of Portuguese people who heartily welcomed delegations from many countries that had arrived in Lisbon to sum up what had been achieved in the world peace movement and map out further tasks in the campaign to avert the threat of a universal nuclear catastrophe.

WPC President Romesh Chandra said addressing those present that the arms race had entered a qualitatively new and most dangerous phase now that Washington had started preparations for "Star Wars."

Chandra emphasized that still more vigorous action by the peace forces was now needed.

He stressed the exceptional importance of a concrete programme for ridding mankind of nuclear arsenals, which had been suggested in his January 15, 1986 statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

NONALIGNED COUNTRIES HOLD AFRICA FUND SUMMIT

LD241020 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] New Delhi January 24 TASS -- By TASS correspondent Vladimir Baydashin:

Nine nonaligned countries grouped in the fund of action for resisting invasion, colonialism and apartheid (Africa Fund) opened their first summit in New Delhi today. The fund was set up under a decision of the 8th Nonaligned Summit Conference in Harare.

The meeting will discuss practical assistance to Africa's "Frontline" States which have been constantly targets for economic pressure and acts of aggression by the South African apartheid regime.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, who is chairman of the Africa Fund committee, said as he opened the meeting that the Pretoria regime "constitutes a clear threat to international peace: and that "it must be removed -- and removed now."

Gandhi said that the Africa Fund will "go to the help of all those who are victims of the apartheid regime -- the people of South Africa, the people of Namibia and the people of the 'Frontline' States."

He emphasised that their struggle "is our struggle" and that the Africa Fund "is a fund to finish apartheid."

CHERNYSHEV ON REAGAN'S STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH

PM291159 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jan 87 p 3

[Vladimir Chernyshev commentary: "Following the Old, Dangerous Path"]

[Text] In his latest, sixth successive State of the Union Address, U.S. President Ronald Reagan has most clearly demonstrated once again his administration's claim to the "leading role" of the United States in the world, the wish to plant "freedom" in the American interpretation everywhere and total reluctance to take real steps to stop the arms race on earth and prevent it spreading into outer space.

The present head of the White House said many a fine word about the U.S. Constitution, whose 200th anniversary that country will celebrate this year. In the Constitution the people tell the government "that it can do only what is listed in that document and nothing more," R. Reagan especially emphasized.

But does the President himself abide by all the provisions of that document? I think that this is quite a legitimate question. Does he remember, for example, Article Six explicitly telling the government that the laws of the United States in common with all the agreements which have been concluded and will be concluded on behalf of the United States are the supreme law of the country? Most likely he does not, for Mr. Reagan has more than once declared this attitude to the treaties and agreements as "scraps of paper" and said that the point of argument could be only what weapons the United States needs, but by no means whether it should renounce weapons for the sake of treaties and agreements.

And all these are not simply words, the U.S. Administration has trampled underfoot the SALT I agreement and the SALT II treaty. It is out to undermine and in general flout and discard as a scrap of paper the ABM Treaty.

"In this 200th anniversary year of our Constitution, you and I stand on the shoulders of giants -- men whose words and deeds put wind in the sails of freedom," the current head of the White House solemnly proclaimed and quoted the founding fathers, again "forgetting" the warnings expressed by them. But they explicitly warned that America should be a friend of freedom everywhere, but a guard of it only in its own country. The wish to plant the notorious American "freedom" by force all over the world stands to mean only one thing, as Thomas Jefferson said, leading America downhill.

Reagan's address on the state of the union is fresh proof of the fact that the administration does not need at all either the U.S. Constitution, or the wisdom of the founding fathers or experience of the predecessors in the remaining 2 years of its rule. The only thing it craves is that the Congress should not "cut" the astronomical military budget, should not declare for an end to nuclear blasts and for the United States to meet its international commitments. The head of the White House unequivocally threatened the congressmen to veto "any such attempt." In my opinion, the U.S. ABC television company was right in predicting the other day that by his State of the Union Address "it will be very hard" for R. Reagan. "To convince the Americans that they should see their country the way he wishes to picture it."

Ptashnikov Commentary

LD290025 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1715 GMT 28 Jan 87

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Boris Andrianov; Andrey Ptashnikov commentary]

[Text] Foreign news agencies report on the traditional message of the United States President on the State of the Union, which he delivered to Congress. I will ask my colleague Andrey Ptashnikov to comment on the speech by the head of the White House.

[Ptashnikov] The message, with which the United States President turns to the Congress and to the entire American nation, is an annual event. In a way it sums up the outcome of the administration's activity for the past year. The present message was awaited with special interest. There were two basic reasons for this: First and foremost, the loud political scandal, which received, as you know, the name Irangate, is not abating in the United States. It is a scandal that has caused a sharp decline in the prestige and trust in the government and in the President, himself. The results of the opinion poll, which were published on the day of Reagan's speech, showed that his policy is approved by only 36 percent of Americans. The second reason rests in the fact that the President, over the entire 6 years of his term in office, is for the first time speaking in a congress that is now fully controlled by the opposition Democratic Party.

Now, about the message itself. As the agencies point out, Reagan preferred to mention the Iran-contras affair only in passing. Having, however, admitted that he bears full responsibility for it, the President attempted at the same time to present the matters in such a way to show that the actions of his administration were dictated by noble goals and in the U.S. national interest. On the whole, in his speech he was unsparing of extremely complimentary appraisals of the work of his government. For instance, speaking about the White House economic policy, Reagan stated, I quote: We saved the nation from the deepest economic crisis since the time of the Great Depression in the thirties. What such optimism is based upon is difficult to say. On the other hand, it is known that in 1986 the U.S. national debt constituted a record figure of $2.2 trillion and the federal budget deficit has yet again exceeded $170 billion.

Reagan gave a very high appraisal of the foreign policy course of his administration and also its policy in the military sphere. In order not to appear without evidence, I will once again take liberty to quote the President. We can be proud of the progress that we achieved in the world. Our efforts on restructuring America's military might make the world less dangerous, he claimed. At the same time, the President let it be understood in an unequivocal way that the White House's course at crude interference into the internal affairs of Central American countries, the Near East and other regions of the world will continue.

He also directly announced that nobody is capable of making him renounce the implementation of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Reagan demanded that Congress fully meet the government's record requirement for assigning $312 billion in military spending in the 1987 fiscal year.

Touching upon relations with the Soviet Union, the President stated that he allegedly strives for them to become more constructive. The question arises: Who is it that prevents the head of the White House to make relations more constructive? According to Reagan's claim it is our country that is guilty of this, because its behavior in the international arena evidently does not suit the United States. It is not difficult to understand the President. The USSR's peace-loving and consistent course in the world, indeed in no way corresponds to the militaristic and aggressive aspiration of official Washington.

Such are, in brief, the basic tenets of Reagan's message. As you probably noted, comrade radio listeners, there is nothing new or more hopeful in them. Hence, the confirmation of the unchanging nature of the adventurous policy of the White House is more than sufficient.

USSR-U.S. ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE OPENS IN MOSCOW

PM271425 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 87 Second Edition p 4

["Roundtable Session" -- PRAVDA Headline]

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS -- Among the problems of our day and age related to the arms race and the danger of a nuclear war the issue of mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States, of providing impartial information about each other assume paramount importance. This is the view of the participants in a session of the round table conference, "The USSR-U.S.: How We Look At Each Other", opened in Moscow 26 January.

One of the factors behind international tensions is a tendentious appraisal of one side by the other side. The stereotypes of thinking that formed in the course of decades and ignore the historic, cultural, national, economic and other differences of the two systems are instrumental in this. The participants in the round table discussion intend to carry out a scientifically-substantiated analysis of the situation and reveal the mechanisms of the processes, which form stereotypes.

The round table debate involves well-known Soviet scientists and public figures. Representatives of the scientific community and public of Bulgaria, Greece, West Berlin and the United States were invited to take part in the discussion.

PART ONE OF IZVESTIYA SERIES ON PRC REFORMS

PM211321 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 6

[First part of report by own correspondents I. Laptev, V. Romanyuk, and Yu. Savenkov: "China: Avenues of Reform" -- first three paragraphs are printed in boldface]

[Text] Beijing-Shanghai-Harbin-Shenyang -- The IL-62 landed at Beijing's Shoudu Airport on a blindingly bright day at the end of November last year. We, a small delegation from IZVESTIYA, were met by journalists from Beijing's newspaper JINGJI RIBAO. A year previously IZVESTIYA had welcomed Chinese journalists in Moscow, and this was our reciprocal visit.

During our 16-day stay in China we visited four cities, including Beijing, 10 industrial enterprises, and a rural district near Shanghai. We had discussions with economists, economic leaders, city mayors, scholars from the Academy of Social Sciences, heads of foreign trade organizations, and journalists, and we were received by Comrade Huang Hua, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Our interest focused mainly on the economic reform in China, whose impressive results are now the topic of conflicting reports in the Chinese press. Yes, the reform did help in solving the most immediate problems of China's economy; it did make it possible to channel large sums into the creation of new jobs, the reconstruction of production, and the social transformation of the countryside. At the same time, however, the reform also created a number of new problems and exacerbated some old ones. Our interlocutors made no secret of its contradictions and its negative aspects.

1. Eight Characters [subhead]

In literal translation, the line of the "Eight Characters" which has been proclaimed in China today conveys little to an outsider. The eight characters represent four terms: "consolidation," "assimilation," "addition," and "improvement." These abstract ideas cover the problem of improving and regulating China's economic machinery and attempting to create a new economic model, implement the retooling of existing enterprises, and assimilate people's intellectual potential. In the course of our tour of the country we saw for ourselves that the reform has affected all spheres of the economy, including planning, finance, prices, management, commodity turnover, taxation, and foreign trade.

"First and foremost it was necessary to settle questions arising in production relations," we were told by Yuan Baohua, vice minister of the State Economic Commission, "and to reinforce the viability of enterprises. A rather rigorous sytem of regulation from above had operated for many years in the management sphere. Virtually all profits were handed over to the state. Enterprises have now been given the right to 'economic self-management' [samokhozyaystvovaniye]."

Let us explain: For many years enterprises, as people say in China, fed from the "same pot," and leveling -- the "iron bowl" of rice -- flourished in labor remuneration. Following the stagnation and disintegration of the "Cultural Revolution" period, the leaders of China's economy hastened to catch up and give a powerful impetus to the "self-development" of Chinese industry.

It was explained to us that the Chinese economic model today is based on a "planned commodity economy." Three forms of ownership -- state, collective, and private -- are being developed; hence the diversity in the economy, and hence the term "commodity socialist production."

The specially adopted resolution on directors' responsibility for production (previously the decisive say in business matters belonged not to the director but to the enterprise party committee) is considered highly important today. It accurately defines, on the one hand, the director's obligations and his total responsibility for the plan and, on the other hand, the party committee's activity in working people's ideological education and in monitoring the total implementation of the party line. Some 10 directives were adopted before that, covering the expansion of enterprises' rights to utilize their own funds, the improvement of the management structure and the placement of people, changes in the wages and bonuses system, and even the establishment of product prices.

Having concluded a contract for 3-4 years, the director pledges to make active use of fixed and circulating capital, enhance the reputation of the enterprise's brand name, and expand its portfolio of patents and inventions. If he is successful in coping with all this, he is rewarded. If he is not, he is fined. The responsibility system, in the form of the director's sole authority in solving economic and cadre questions, demanded new leaders -- energetic, daring, and competent. Not everyone proved mentally prepared to play this role.

This is what JINGJI RIBAO wrote: "Some 62 percent of directors of enterprises under the Ministry of Electronics Industry expressed a wish to resign their positions, considering the work to be extremely difficult." The active implementation of the reform in industry began in 1984. Thus, according to data relating to 3,000 large and medium enterprises, "rectification" of leading personnel had been carried out at 60 percent of enterprises by the end of 1984.

We recall a meeting at Beijing's "Dongfen" Television Plant. Enterprise Director Zhao Xiaoping became head of the collective at the age of 34. During his 3 years as director, he has been eminently successful in improving production. He spoke of broad cooperation with firms in Japan, the Netherlands, the FRG, and the United States, noting by the way that a television set's "innards" no longer consist exclusively of imported parts: Already 85 percent of a color television set's components are domestically produced.

We met similar directors -- young and energetic, who joined the leadership simultaneously with the reform -- later on in Shanghai, Harbin, and Shenyang. They are all fully confident that the economic reform will take the country's economy to new heights. Li Xiangrong is 46 years old. In his youth, while a student at Beijing University, he, like many others, was engulfed by the wave of the "Cultural Revolution." He graduated from university with a 2-year delay, and later underwent "reeducation" in Shenyang. After that he worked as a shop chief and then propaganda section chief at the light gauge rolled sheet metal plant. On taking charge of the enterprise, Li Xiangrong set himself five principles which he tries to follow. Here they are: Act fairly, disregarding family ties; do everything for the benefit of the state and the people; be exacting toward yourself regarding every breach; set a personal example in everything; if the plant fails to change itself within the set time, leave voluntarily.

We asked Li Xiangrong: Would he like his son to follow in the father's footsteps and become a plant director? The answer was brief and swift: "No, my job is rather hard." And this is no coquetry. A director's position is made even more complex by the fact that enterprising economic managers often encounter resistance from departments unwilling to abandon the methods of leadership by directive. Last summer RENMIN RIBAO wrote in defense of the director of the Zhengzhou motor vehicles plant, who was dismissed by the board of directors of the transportation company to which the plant belonged literally for actively promoting the reform. As a result of this, the director was later reinstated and the leadership of the transportation company was forced to resign.

People in China understand that very much still has to be done to achieve level development by the year 2000. After all, the average labor productivity of Chinese workers is 10 times lower than in developed industrial countries. Only 20 percent of technological processes in industry are up to world standards of the sixties and seventies.

The "separation of the rights of ownership and the rights of economic management" is a key element of the reform. This abstruse formula covers a theoretical postulate: The fixed production capital -- plants and land -- remains the property of the state, the running of affairs is entirely in the hands of enterprises and individual peasant families, and different forms of economic management are allowed -- right up to renting entire shops on contract, setting up joint stock enterprises, and even hiring manpower.

An impressive feature of the Chinese economic machinery is its orientation toward the development of initiative. Let us begin with planning: This is where the main "carrot" lies. In most general terms, this is how matters are organized: Approximately one-third of volumes are set by the state directive plan, which is fully backed up by resources. Orientation planning then comes into force, which is not backed up by material resources but guarantees markets for output at set prices. All the rest -- frequently 60-70 percent -- is left to market regulation; in other words, the plant ensures its own resources to back up these volumes and must itself take care of marketing. Any enterprise producing output whose quality is poor or whose technical standards are too low inevitably loses -- its competitors sell their goods at better prices. And so, all other things being equal, the winner is the one who has ensured the lowest production costs.

The Chinese model of the market economy creates, in the opinion of its theoreticians, a basis for the "self-development" of enterprises. Clearly, the objectives of a commodity economy must be matched by a market machinery effecting the free redistribution of metal, materials, financial resources, and manpower. China has, or rather, is creating five markets: for means of production, scientific and technical achievements, finance, labor resources, and mass consumer goods. Essentially, everything becomes a commodity, be it metal or the latest technology, shares or manpower -- the market is a market.

"It was easier with the directive plan," Liu Shulun, director of the Harbin linen combine, admitted. "There were no worries about increasing profits or reducing costs, about renewing the range or gaining a place in the market. Good or bad work had not effect at all on an enterprise's position. A loss-making situation prevailed until 1984; 2 million meters of textiles were gathering dust in warehouses then -- and nothing happened! Now, however, work like this would mean bankruptcy."

Another plant in Harbin -- the ball bearings plant -- will switch completely to the market system in 1987. We asked whether the enterprise had any fears that production would suffer from shortage of resources.

"There are no such fears," plant director Ma Jibo declared confidently. "Back in November we had already received 90 percent of our orders for 1987. We concluded a contract with a local rolled metal plant for deliveries of materials."

"And if your supplier lets you down?"

"Then he must fully reimburse any losses, according to the law on economic contracts. In addition, we reserve the right to apply to the economic court."

Working under the new conditions, the director watches over every single yuan. [paragraph continues]

The prospects for production renewal, retooling, and all aspects of the collective's prosperity now depend on profits, or rather on that part of profits which remains at the enterprise's disposal following the payment of various mandatory taxes and deductions. While at the Harbin linen combine, we tried to calculate literally with pencils in our hands: How much remains? There is a total of seven national and four local taxes. Too many! Ultimately, approximately 280,000 yuans remain at the enterprise's disposal out of every 1 million yuans of profit. This money must be used to continue the retooling of shops, the renewal of output, and the construction of housing or purchase of readymade apartments for workers, and to transfer money to the education and enlightenment fund and the workers' material incentives fund. Frequently there is no money left for social questions.

Keen market competition forces individual enterprises to pool their efforts. "Horizontal" associations have started appearing in the country, consisting of plants from various sectors. The No 2 Motor Vehicles Plant (Hubei Province) is now at the head of 148 enterprises situated in more than 20 provinces. The structure of "horizontal" associations is not rigid: The enterprises cooperate on an equal basis in the use of capital, equipment, and components, and each receives a proportionate share of profits from the sales of finished products.

Other initiatives to revive the economy are also encouraged. Enterprises have been given the right to attract the population's funds and to circulate shares or bonds. The Shanghai chemical plant issued shares worth 9 million yuans, and they were all bought within 4 days. The development of the shareholding economy is considered not only economically but also politically and morally important. A worker who has bought a share or two in his enterprise, the directors said, participates more actively in economic management and is concerned with the strengthening of financial autonomy and the stepping up of the policy of thrift.

"We want to give enterprises an opportunity to develop in accordance with market demand," Mayor Wu Disheng of Shenyang said in conversation with us. "Enterprises which prove unviable must go bankrupt."

A harsh measure, whichever way you look at it. The fundamental position is that a plant, having become an autonomous unit, should not be a burden on the state. This is what the bankruptcy procedure looks like. Creditors apply to the court. If the enterprise produces output of particular importance for society or if a guarantee is provided by a superior organ (or the sides have managed to agree on a 2-year reconciliation period), no bankruptcy is declared. Another option is possible: To find an organization which would give security for a 6-month period. Then the enterprise is given a chance. The law makes provisions for administrative and criminal responsibility by the enterprise leadership and any superior organs.

Be that as it may, 11 plants have recently been shown the "yellow card" [reference to the warning card shown to offending soccer players]. The outcome is that, unless they become profitable within the set time, they will be declared bankrupt. Five plants have managed to gain the path of profitability; the fate of another five is still uncertain. One Shenyang plant -- a small one, true enough, with only 70 workers -- was declared bankrupt.

The draft law on bankruptcy was discussed on three occasions by the National People's Congress -- the equation contained too many unkowns. It was ultimately decided to pass the law on an experiemental basis and to discuss its final version only after the adoption of the law on the state sector's industrial enterprises. The main problem is to solve the questions of employment and social security.

It is noteworthy that there may be far too many prospective bankruptcies. [paragraph continues]

About one in five enterprises in China is operating at a loss. What is to be done with the surplus labor resources? The Ministry of Labor and Personnel announced that in the next 5 years the state will have to create 45 million jobs in the cities alone for those who are just starting their working lives and for those "awaiting work." The law on bankruptcy may lead to an increase in the number of unemployed people. Surplus manpower is felt even now at many enterprises, and there is no clear idea of what the future will bring.

But here is a real change in cadre policy. In October 1986 China officially introduced a system for the contract hiring of workers via competitive recruitment. The former system of contracts for life and inheritance of parents' jobs by children after their retirement on pension is being abolished. Directors are given the right to dismiss a worker for breaches of discipline, something they could not do previously. This will apply only to newly recruited personnel and will not affect most "permanent" workers.

Let us explain: Workers in China are divided into three categories -- permanent staff, contract workers, and temporary workers. The "permanent" receive considerably higher wages. University and school graduates and demobilized servicemen are appointed to these positions. Temporary staff receive smaller wages, and one may remain in this category indefinitely. Even so, there is a certain progress from leveling -- in labor remuneration and in the payment of various subsidies for food, transportation, children's maintenance in nurseries, use of laundry, public bath, and hairdressing services, and so on.

How are wages to be tied to efficiency? Some enterprises have introduced a "floating" wage system dependent on profits. Others use either piece-work wages dependent on the volume of output produced and the reduction of prime costs, or mixed wages dependent on qualifications, position at work, and results. But the overwhelming majority of enterprises are given directives setting the approved number of workers and employees and the total wages fund, and the possibility of bonus payments is limited by taxation.

A director, like any worker, becomes a leader under a contract concluded with the local government (as the local organs of power are known), usually for 4 years. An inspection is conducted halfway through this term, and if the director has failed to achieve real changes he may be relieved of his duties.

We heard directors say that their rights are limited in many spheres even now. The state imposes on directors sources of material and energy supplies and decides for them what buildings to construct, how to ensure satisfactory hygiene, and even how to wage the struggle to reduce the birth rate. The structure of enterprise management remains archaic, our interlocutors told us, and it still contains quite a few clearly superfluous sections. Directors complain about instances of duplication and bureaucracy. In their opinion, reforms in the center and at the local level are "not in step."

The country has no uniform pensions scheme. Pensions are paid by enterprises. At times this imposes excessive burdens on an enterprise's economy. In some instances the pensions fund even begins to exceed the enterprise's profits. Workers in collective or private enterprises cannot expect any pension at all.

"Gaige" (reform) is perhaps the most popular word in China today. By the end of the Seventh 5-Year Plan the elements of the new economic model, according to its architects, should predominate.

It will take time to assess what is happening. But what we noticed was this. [paragraph continues]

Despite all the variety of methods to activate China's economy, the leveling in industrial workers' wages has still not been overcome, the open disregard of social questions still remains, and the market for means of production is often virtually uncontrollable -- giving an opportunity to owners of materials in short supply to freely play with prices, frequently to the consumers' detriment.

"Be very careful when skating on thin ice," an ancient Chinese adage says. But another phrase is also cited: "Don't be afraid of going slow, be afraid of stopping." Countless multitudes of experiments are now under way in the economic sphere -- on a national scale and at the level of provinces, cities, sectors, and individual enterprises.

The most massive reform -- involving family contracts -- is taking place in the Chinese countryside. This will be the topic of the next dispatch.

'WHOLESALE COPYING' OF WESTERN IDEAS DENOUNCED

PM231125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Only Correct Choice; RENMIN RIBAO Commentary"]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jan -- In the China of the second half of the eighties, which has received successes on the path of building socialism, despite expectations there are people who are again coming out with the slogan of "the wholesale copying of the West," states a commentary published today in RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the CPC Central Committee. Within the framework of this "copying," the newspaper notes, these people include the ideology, morality, and political structure of the capitalist system.

"These statements," RENMIN RIBAO stresses, "are evidence that this insane slogan is nothing but a total rejection of socialism in China and would mean the implementation of the concepts of capitalism." In RENMIN RIBAO"s opinion, the statements cited above are a classic example of bourgeois liberalization.

"The Chinese people," The newspaper points out, "have chosen the socialist path, and specific practice attests that this was the only correct choice." And now that the socialist system has already taken firm root in China, a return to talk of "the wholesale copying of the West" can only confuse some young people who have failed to understand the realities of the new era in China and can only mislead young people.

Indeed, RENMIN RIBAO continues, the party has committed errors in the period of building socialism. But that does not mean that we must embark on the path of "copying everything Western." Wholesale copying of the West can only lead to regression.

During the implementation of the "open door" policy, the newspaper writes, "we are borrowing leading foreign equipment, technology, and universally recognized experience in the field of economic management, while at the same time rejecting the ideology and social system of capitalism."

"The position of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people on this question is unanimous and firm," RENMIN RIBAO concludes. "The 10 years of chaos in the period of the 'Cultural Revolution,' accompanied by the tyranny of the counterrevolutionary 'gang of four,' was quite unable to undermine the faith of the broad masses of party members and the people in socialism."

MONGOLIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO ARRIVE 29 JAN

LD282143 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] Mongolia's foreign minister, Mangalyn Dugersuren, arrives in Moscow on Thursday [29 January] on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

MONGOLIAN GENERAL ON SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWAL

LD290053 Moscow World Service in English 2310 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow has decided to bring home part of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Mongolia. This tallies with what Mikhail Gorbachev indicated in his speech in Vladivostok last July. Now a report from our correspondent Leonid Blychin, who has talked with Army General Choyndongiy Purebdorj in Ulaanbaator:

I have been closely following developments in Asia and the Pacific, General Choyndongiy Purebdorj, the head of the Institute for Military and Scientific Research at Mongolia's Defense Minister said. There are two colliding trends: the desire of a large number of states to stabilize the situation and attempts by some other countries to take over the whole region, or at least prevent peace activists from closing their ranks and preserve the existing seats of tension. The escalation of the American military presence in the region has not escaped our attention. We are concerned that Tokyo has been expanding its Self-Defense Forces' sphere of action and has been declining to limit its military budget in any way. Nonetheless, we welcome the Soviet Union's decision to return troops from Mongolia. The pull-back of part of these forces, even though we'll certainly miss our comrades in arms, is to set an example that will help other nations in the search for ways to security and durable peace in the region. The withdrawal of part of troops from Mongolia testifies to Moscow's firm conviction that tension can be eased in the region.

USSR, MPR FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES SIGN PROTOCOL

PM281031 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] To actively assist in implementing the CPSU's and MPRP's course of strengthening in every way the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples and bringing them closer together -- this is perceived as the most important task of the two countries' friendship societies. Its implementation will be helped by the 1987 protocol on cooperation between the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship an Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Mongolian Friendship Society on the one hand and the Federation of Mongolian Organizations for Peace and Friendship and the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society on the other, which was signed in Moscow 26 January.

The year of the 70th anniversary of Great October, 1987, is a special year for us, T.S. Namsray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Central Council, said at the signing ceremony. This is why events devoted to this occasion occupy an important position in the document. They will reflect the fraternal cooperation between the two countries, parties, and peoples, cooperation wehich is steadily strengthening year by year and is being constantly enriched with new forms and meaning. [paragraph continues]

This year we will also celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society, one of our largest public organizations. I would like to assure you that the society will continue to do everything to strengthen the Leninist traditions of friendship and the cause of peace and socialism.

Ts. Balhaajab, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society Central Council, was present at the signing ceremony.

NAKASONE POLICY LEADING TO 'UNCHECKED ARMAMENT'

LD261737 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 26 Jan 87

[Text] Tokyo January 26 TASS -- A regular session of Japan's parliament resumed work here today. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone made a policy speech at the session, in which he set out the key directions of his cabinet's policy.

Touching upon Soviet-Japanese relations, he expressed the striving to establish goodneighbourly friendly ties between the two countries. Nakasone said that the consistent course by his cabinet was in developing stable relations with the USSR on the basis of mutual understanding.

At the same time, the premier tried once again to link the fostering of goodneighbourly relations with a satisfaction of unlawful territorial claims by Japan's ruling quarters to the Soviet Union.

The premier spoke at length about the aspiration to take an active part in solving international problems, contribute towards detente and expand the East-West political dialogue. His speech demonstrates, however, that the current leadership sees the stepping up of Japan's course on the world stage not through scaling down military confrontation, discussing and hammering out confidence-building measures in the interests of peace and cooperation, including in the Asian Pacific region, but through bolstering the military-strategic alliance with the United States, intensifying its own military efforts.

The head of government contended that Tokyo's recent move to lift the limit which kept military spending in Japan's budget within one percent of gross national product did not portend changes in Japan's policy which, as he put it, will continue to be based on the peaceful constitution and the three officially proclaimed "non-nuclear principles".

The assurances that Japan will not become a mighty military power cannot, however, conceal the fact that this decision by the conservative government opens up the way to an unchecked armament of the country.

JAPANESE 'HULLABALOO' OVER KURIL ISLANDS REBUKED

PM232051 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 87 First Edition p 5

[V. Ovchinnikov "Rejoinder": "Claims in Context"]

[Text] The annual congresses of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] which is in power in Japan are extremely brief in duration, are of a formal nature, and rarely generate any kind of commentaries.

This, however, cannot be said of the documents of the 47th LDP Congress which has just taken place. Great stress was deliberately placed both in the speech of the party chairman and in the party's action program for the current year upon the question of unfounded territorial claims against the Soviet Union. "Together with the Japanese Government, the LDP will take every opportunity to call for the return of the northern territories," says the LDP action program.

At the same time the matter is not limited to mere "calls." Patently in an attempt to attract public attention, an extensive plan of measures has been drawn up: tours of inspection by party leaders, special study periods in schools and higher educational establishment, and a series of demonstrations and rallies, timed to coincide with the so called "Northern Territories Day." The dispatch abroad of "cartographical missions:" is even envisaged for the purpose of persuading Western Europe and North America to depict the southern part of the Kuril Islands chain as none other than "Japanese territory."

It will hardly surprise anyone that the anti-Soviet hullabaloo will continue to be fanned by the LDP. The context and the general background against which this is taking place makes one wary. The Japanese Government has just broken through the traditional "ceiling" on military spending which had hitherto been limited to one percent of the gross national product. An important psychological barrier in the path of the country's unbridled rearmament has thus been left behind. At recent consultations in Honolulu, questions of cooperation between the Armed Forces of the United States and Japan and the standardization of their military hardware were discussed. The Nakasone cabinet, as is known, officially announced the decision to join in the U.S. "Star Wars" program.

If all these factors are examined in aggregate, one cannot fail to note that the buildup of Tokyo's military preparations and its plugging into Washington's global anti-Soviet strategy are accompanied by an escalation of revanchist claims upon the territory of a neighboring state. Historical experience warns that such a combination can lead to dangerous consequences. And in any case, it is already obvious that the fanning of unfriendly, chauvinistic sentiments does not favor the creation of conditions for a fruitful exchange of visits at summit level which would accord with the true national interests of both the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

GEOTHERMAL POWER PLANT PLANNED FOR KURILS

LD290059 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 28 Jan 87

["Geothermal Power Plant To Be Built in the Kurils" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Iturup Island (Sakhalin region) January 28 TASS -- A well drilled by geologists on the slopes of the Baranskiy volcano has revealed huge reserves of steam heated to over 200 degrees centigrade. The energy potential of the reserves is estimated at dozens of megawatts.

A geothermal power plant will be soon built at the site of the well. Experts note the station's low operation costs and simple operation procedure.

The station will save some 2,500 tonnes of diesel fuel worth 250,000 roubles that are shipped here for two local diesel power stations, and provide heating for apartment houses in the town of Kurilsk and nearby greenhouses.

LEADERSHIP GREETS INDIA ON NATIONAL DAY

PM261701 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 87 First Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers message to Indian President Zail Singh and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Zail Singh, Indian President,
To His Excellency Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister,

On the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of the Indian republic we send you and, through you, to the government and people of friendly India cordial congratulations and very best wishes from the Soviet people and leadership.

The Indian republic has achieved impressive successes in strengthening its national independence and in its economic, scientific, technical, and cultural development. Freedom-loving, independent India's consistent advocation of disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war and its support for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence have won it high international prestige.

Soviet people are sincerely gratified at the Indian people's impressive achievements and wish them great new achievements on the path of socioeconomic, scientific, and technical progress.

The Soviet Union makes a high assessment of the relations of traditional friendship, mutual respect, and equal cooperation prevailing between our countries and peoples. The growing collaboration between the USSR and India in the international arena is becoming a more and more weighty factor in world politics and demonstrates the inexhaustible potential of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The Soviet-Indian summit in Delhi advanced cooperation between the USSR and India to qualitatively new levels both in bilateral relations and in international affairs.

We are confident that USSR-Indian relations based on the sound foundation of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation will continue with every passing year to be supplemented with new content and promote the assertion in international life of the principles proclaimed by our countries' leaders in the Delhi declaration.

We wish you, esteemed Mr President and esteemed Mr Prime Minister, good health and successes in your activity, and we wish the great Indian people happiness and prosperity.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
The USSR Council of Ministers

Kamentsev, Mokanu at Reception

PM281633 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 7

[TASS report: "On the Occasion of Republic Day"]

[Text] On 26 January T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union, held a reception on the occasion of the national holiday, Republic Day.

A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of public organizations represented the Soviet side.

HOMECOMING OF PENITENT DRA REBELS REPORTED

PM231559 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Okulov dispatch: "Those Who Have Laid Down Their Arms. Yesterday's Dushmans Welcomed by Residents of the Afghan Capital"]

[Text] Kabul, 21 Jan -- Bus convoys entered the city from three directions this morning. They were met by crowds of people, representatives of the authorities, and leaders of National Front organizations in the suburbs of Kheyr Khaneh, (Dokh Abade), and (Divan Begi). The buses were carrying people who only a few days ago were fighting against the forces of the revolution. On learning about the cease-fire and the steps taken by the people's power for national reconciliation, about 400 men from the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," the "Islamic Party of Afghan Fighters for the Faith," and other counterrevolutionary organizations with headquarters in Peshawar laid down their arms and switched to the side of the government.

"Welcome to Kabul. You see, we do not remember the evil; we welcome you with kindness," representatives of the authorities said at the meeting.

"We stopped fighting when we learned about the cease-fire," (Gul Aga), former commander of a bandit group, said in reply, "and our decision is firm. The people are tired of war. We understand that we were deceived by the gangleaders entrenched in Pakistan. Now we will defend our village from the gangs if necessary. The authorities have let us keep our weapons."

Many former dushmans find it difficult to look Kabul's residents in the eye. The buses take them around the city living is ordinary life, through the morning crowds along (Mayvand Prospekt) where the human flood swirls around countless small stores, past mosques -- and they were told that Kabul's mosques had been closed down! -- past the new residential districts, to the exhibition of national economic achievements. Here they can see for themselves how far the country as advanced despite resistance by the counterrevolution. Having lived for several years in the mountains, like wolves in their lairs, they are now given an opportunity to convince themselves how monstrous were the lies told by counterrevolutionary propaganda in whose atmosphere they lived.

"My family spent 5 years in Pakistan, at the (Babu) Camp in Parachinar," Mohammad Yusuf recounted. "How did we live? Huddled in tents, not enough food, freezing in winter. We were told: Afghanistan is in danger, it is necessary to fight. And so we fought -- in the northern provinces. We were in Pakistan when we heard the news of the national reconciliation. We sent the families to our native village of (Khodzha Musafer), which is in Paghman, near Kabul. We, 22 men, left the camp with our weapons, as if on our way to an operation, so as not to be detained. We came and surrendered to the authorities."

Mohammad (Ashraf), with whom we talked at the exhibition of DRA national economic achievements, was frank:

"Allah forbid that you should have interviewed us even 10 days ago. I commanded a bandit group operating in Kabul Province's Chahar Asiab District. We laid down our arms a week ago. Why? We were dead tired of war."

I asked a tall, lean, bearded lad called (Del Aga) whether his family had approved of his intention to lay down his arms.

"My entire family consists of my mother and myself. When I told her of our joint decision, she cried for joy. Where did we fight? In Bagrami district, near Kabul. We fired rockets on the town, mined the highways. We killed many people. Now I think: Where did we end up? What did we achieve?"

These are the confessions to be heard in Kabul today. The newcomers spent the day touring the city. They prayed in the mosques. In the afternoon, those who laid down their arms had a meeting with Najib, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee.

"We will never forget this trip to Kabul," (Gul Aga) told me in the evening. "We will return to our village and tell our families everything; they are impatiently awaiting our return...."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ON 1ST DAY OF DRA CEASE-FIRE

PM231547 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 87 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Major A. Oliynik dispatch: "Afghanistan: Day One of Reconciliation"]

[Text] Kabul, 16 Jan -- January 15. It is possible that this sunny day in January will go down in DRA history as the day of peace and will be celebrated in the future as a national holiday. This was the day which marked the beginning of the process of national reconciliation, following a decision made by an extraordinary enlarged PDPA Central Committee Plenum.

...Working Kabul awoke, as always, at the crack of dawn. It awoke to start living under new conditions. The city streets were decorated with flags, red banners, and flowers. Kabul residents everywhere discussed with animation the appeal to the Afghan people delivered by Najib, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, on television on the evening of 14 January. It laid down the goals and principles of the policy of national reconciliation, designed to put an end to the fratricidal war. The appeal noted that a pardon for past actions will be guaranteed to all armed groupings and their leaders who accept the policy of reconcilialtion, and they will be able to be elected to any state posts, even the highest ones.

The Second DRA National Fatherland Front [NFF] Congress was an event of great importance. About 900 delegates representing all the country's provinces took part in its work. The congress delegates declared their resolve to assist in ending the war and restoring an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in the country.

During a break between sessions, A. Hatef, chairman of the NFF Central Council, noted in a brief interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent:

"The NFF is Afghanistan's largest sociopolitical organization, uniting about 1 million people representing various strata of society, tribes, and nationalities. It was no accident that the Supreme Extraordinary Commission for National Reconciliation was set up under the NFF. As a rule, chairmen of front councils head the local extraordinary commissions whose task it is to achieve accord and reconciliation in provinces, districts, and villages and convene peace jirgas there. We are sincerely grateful to the great Soviet people for their fraternal concern and selfless assistance, their active support for the policy of national reconciliation..."

The district town of (Bagrami) in Kabul Province was the first in the republic to be proclaimed a "zone of peace" on that day. The 37 gangs operating in the district made contact with members of the extraordinary commission and asked for permission to return home and embark on a peaceful life. Their request was granted.

I had visited (Bagrami) in March last year. Now I was back in the district center again. I met former dushmans. The confessions of those who have realized the truth of the revolution and have broken with the shameful past debunk better than anything else the fabrications of hostile voices, which have now started a real war over the airwaves against the policy of national reconciliation.

"Having fallen for the promises of hostile propaganda, I joined a dushman gang 3 years ago," Mohammad (Kadyr), a native of the village of (Aga-ali), told me. "Our group engaged in robbery and plunder and was abjectly afraid of encountering Afghan Army servicemen. I witnessed how the so-called 'fighters for the faith' robbed innocent peasants, raped young girls, and humiliated activists of the people's power. Most rank-and-file members of the armed groupings have greeted with hope the policy of national reconciliation and are prepared to accept it. But the gang leaders and foreign advisers ban contacts with the people's power on pain of death and forbid them even to listen to radio programs or read leaflets dealing with national reconciliation. The actions of the reactionaries are a boulder in the way of reconciliation which must be removed!"

...On the evening of 15 January I met Colonel Sayyed Omar at the Afghan Army General Staff. Having heard me out, he smiled wearily:

"This day and night have been special ones in our service duty. All Army units and subunits reported receipt of the order to cease fire. They are rigorously complying with the conditions of reconciliation and displaying vigilance and combat readiness. But the process of national reconciliation is evidently disliked by some counterrevolutionaries. Here is a list of the main acts of terrorism committed by dushmans on the first day of reconciliation:

"0015 hours: Rockets were fired at the airport in the town of Bagram. No losses. The runway was damaged. The fire was not returned.
"0035 hours: Surface-to-surface missiles were fired at the airport in the town of Ghazni. No losses. Two helicopters damaged. The fire was not returned.
"0215 hours: A people's militia guard post in the district center of Tani, Paktia Province, came under fire. No loss of life. One man wounded. The post did not respond to the provocation.
"2120 hours: A military convoy carrying supplies for the population came under heavy fire along the Jabal os Saraj section of the Kabul-Hayraton highway. More than 20 vehicles were set on fire. People were killed and wounded. Antiaircraft installations covering the convoy repulsed the dushman attack..."

This is how the counterrevolution, egged on from abroad, continues to shed the blood of the Afghan people, of totally innocent people. And responsibility for these bloody crimes lies with those who place U.S. weapons in the dushmans' hands and exercise "remote control" of the undeclared war against Afghanistan.

That was the topic of a press conference held on the evening of 15 January. Taking part in it were DRA Defense Minister Major General M. Rafi, State Security Minister Colonel General G.F. Yaqubi, and Interior Minister Col Gen S.M. Golabzoy.

Portable antiaircraft missile complexes -- the U.S. "Stinger" and the British "Blowpipe" -- captured near Qandahar recently, were brought inside the hall where the press conference was being held. [paragraph continues]

Afterwards, the foreign journalists rushed to photograph the weapons which the West so generously supplies to the counterrevolutionaries.

The press conference ended late at night. The city lights were burning brightly, and an unusual silence reigned. Close to my house I met Afghan Army soldier M. (Gudin). I asked what he thought of the national reconciliation.

"Blood will not wash blood off," he said. "We want peace and tranquillity."

He repeated these words several times. Like an expression of hope, like an invocation.

MOSCOW TV ON DRA CEASE-FIRE, U.S. PROVOCATIONS

LD222000 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Jan 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] As you know, a few days ago the DRA unilaterally ceased fire and halted combat operations. Of course, a cease-fire is still not the long-awaited peace; it is just the first step toward it. Ask any Afghan today what his most sacred wish is: he will probably say that the guns stop firing, that shells and bombs stop exploding, and that the bloodshed end. That is how those who live in people's Afghanistan think. And those are the thoughts of those who by will of destiny, through deceit, force, and fear found themselves on alien territory, like these families of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Life far from one's backyard is difficult, full of deprivation and misfortune. [video shows crowded street, family under canvas with rubbish lying around]

The people's authorities are now holding talks with dozens of military formations. Those who are giving up the active armed struggle against the revolutionary authorities are given the opportunity of returning to their homes and to work peacefully. Thousands of people have been thinking about these proposals, and the first detachments of former revolutionaries, following the call from Kabul, are laying down their weapons, ending the struggle, and returning to a peaceful life.

It has to be said that at this time official Washington is behaving provocatively. U.S. propaganda is trying to sow doubts regarding the sincerity of the reconciliation proposals. Illiterate people are being intimidated and deceived most of all, and attempts are being made to confuse them. By all accounts, these proposals are a trick, a ruse, a screen -- that is what Hagerty, a State Department spokesman, said on television. There is no cease-fire; it is all a deception. We must increase military aid to the Afghan rebels, the American reactionary Heritage Foundation says, echoing the State official. The heads of 7 dushman groupings who have entrenched themselves in Pakistan, and 12 formations in Iran, it is reported, repeat verbatim the slanderous claims of their Western patrons and hasten to propose conditions that are inconceivable and unacceptable for people's Afghanistan.

So, all the arguments of Western politicians about a fratricidal war and sufferings are nothing other than words. The fact that men, women, and children are being killed, and that Afghanistan is being turned into a bleeding Iran does not affect them. However, the true patriots have sufficient patience. They are ready for talks for the sake of peace.

Representatives of Afghan emigres have arrived from the United States for such talks in Kabul. The concept of national reconciliation, they said, is meeting a broad response among Afghans both inside the country and abroad.

We arrived in Kabul in order to see with our own eyes how this process is going on. We welcome the initiatives of the Afghan leadership.

MAHBUBA KARMAL AIDING AFGHAN WAR ORPHANS

LD221754 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Jan 87

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov; Ada Petrova report from Kabul]

[Excerpts] This January could be crucial in the destiny of Afghanistan. A cease-fire has been announced there. A program of national reconciliation has been adopted there; refugees can return, and they will be helped to start life from scratch again. A wide-ranging amnesty is being prepared. In some places the enemy is laying down his weapons and ceasing to be an enemy. Civil war is described as fratricidal: brother fights against brother. But that sort of war does not spare sisters, either. Children die, too, and many are left orphans. [passage omitted]

The first boarding school opened in Kabul 6 years ago. It was headed by Mahbuba Karmal. Now there are such schools in practically all the provinces: there are more and more orphans. [passage omitted]

All children's homes in the country now come under the auspices of the Watan [body overseeing children's homes], under the DRA Council of Ministers. The Soviet Union helped to build and equip these homes.

Quite recently, in accordance with an economic and cultural cooperation agreement, construction has begun of five boarding schools. This event was solemnly marked: children and staff of Afghan and Soviet institutions came, and all spoke about the importance of this work. [video shows Mahbuba Karmal addressing meeting; construction site, foundation-laying ceremony, clips of children] [passage omitted]

We are in the office of the woman who directs the Watan with a great deal of warmth. All the children in the children's homes know her and affectionately call her "mommy".

[Mahbuba Karmal, in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] No one will be surprised when I say that children are the future of Afghanistan. But these children -- I find it hard to say that they have witnessed what they should not have known: war, violence, grief, killing. They have wounded souls. The war has been going on for 7 years now -- how many wounded and how many dead. We are tired of war, of constant fear, burdens and deprivations. Now Democratic Afghanistan has become stronger and wiser than it was at the start of its road, and this is why we have proposed reconciliation. And now I think that perhaps this day, cease-fire day, will one day become an Afghan holiday -- a great holiday of peace. I have faith in my people; they will be capable of rising above prejudices. As a woman, a mother, and a teacher, I hope for a better future for our children. And we are endlessly grateful to the Soviet people for their cordiality and help to the children of the war. [passage omitted: Petrova continues video report with footage of children enjoying themselves at New Year's party in Soviet science and culture house]

VANUATU, USSR SIGN FISHING COOPERATION AGREEMENT

LD281146 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0712 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] Canberra, 27 Jan (TASS) -- An intergovernmental agreement between the USSR and Vanuatu on cooperation in fishing was signed today in Port Vila, capital of the Republic of Vanuatu. On behalf of the Soviet Government the agreement was signed by Ye. M. Samoteykin, USSR ambassador to Australia and Vanuatu, and on behalf of the Vanuatu Government by J. Hopa, minister of agriculture, fisheries, and forestry.

Vanuatu President Ati George Sokomanu and Prime Minister Walter Lini were present at the signing ceremony.

Details of Agreement

OW281303 Tokyo KYODO in English 1238 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] Sydney, Jan. 28 KYODO -- Vanuatu disclosed details Wednesday of a fishery agreement with the Soviet Union providing for Soviet fishing boats to call at ports in the South Pacific country.

Under the one-year pact, initialed Tuesday, the Soviet Union will pay 1.5 million U.S. dollars as fishing fees for eight Soviet tuna seiners and longline boats in Vanuatu's economic zone. The agreement also enables the Soviet boats to call at specified ports in Vanuatu for repairs and replenishment of supplies.

Vanuatu is the second South Pacific country after Kiribati to conclude a fishery pact with the Soviet Union and the first to allow port calls by Soviet fishing boats. The Vanuatu Government also said it may confer with the Soviet Union in the future to allow aircraft of the Soviet airline Aeroflot to stop over in the country for changes of crew.

Vanuatu Prime Minister Walter Lini will leave for the United States Friday to explain to the U.S. Government that the pact is purely commercial. Soviet-Kiribati negotiations to renew their pact have been suspended since last October.

PRAVDA COMMENTS ON PHILIPPINE COUP ATTEMPT

PM281552 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 87 First Edition p 7

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Commentator's Column": "Before the Plebiscite"]

[Text] Exactly a week before the plebiscite on the draft new constitution, scheduled for 2 February, another attempted military coup took place in the Philippines. A group of reactionary officers raised a rebellion a few hours after a peaceful demonstration by left-wing forces -- a demonstration against the shots fired on a peasant protest which was advancing toward the presidential palace with a demand for the acceleration of land reform.

These events are clear evidence of the extremely high passions and the profound polarization of political forces in the country. The activity of the Aquino administration and the results of the work of its constitutional commission are being criticized from both right and left. The supporters of the Marcos regime, which was overthrown a year ago, have by no means laid down their arms. Not confining themselves to antigovernment demonstrations, they continue to engage in armed actions (in July putschists seized the Manila Hotel, and this time they seized a television station).

But probably an even more serious threat to President Aquino is former Defense Minister Enrile, whose support secured her victory over Marcos last February. Expressing the interests of the top military clique, Enrile sharply opposed talks with leaders of the rebel movement. But even after Enrile had to resign, his supporters started demanding that Aquino replace nearly one-third of the members of her cabinet because of their left-wing convictions. This "change of personalities" remains the demand of the generals, who use every attempted uprising to increase their own political weight and influence.

Criticism of the government is also emanating increasingly loudly from the working people, who await in vain the promised changes for the better. The course of denationalization of the state sector has aggravated unemployment. The landless peasants of the countryside continue to suffer. Under pressure from right and left, the Aquino administration is forced to maneuver and make compromises, and, as a rule, by no means in favor of progressive forces. This is what the behind-the-scenes participant in events -- American imperialism -- wants.

Washington is alarmed at even the very vague mention of the possibility of a nuclear-free status for the Philippines which is contained in the draft new constitution. People there fear that this could make it more difficult to use American military bases on Philippine soil. Seeking to avoid a return to military dictatorship and to preserve the liberal facade of the present Philippine Administration, the "supporters of democracy" across the ocean are trying to exert pressure on Aquino through her political opponents so as to impose, on the sly, the course that suits the White House.

PHILIPPINE POLITICAL TENSION, U.S. MOVES VIEWED

PM281835 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jan 87 First Edition p 5

[A. Petrov article: "The Philippines: Right-wingers Intended To Act Before 2 February..."]

[Text] Situated in a picturesque region of Manila, capital of the Philippines, on the bank of the river Pasig, the presidential palace has looked as if it was under siege in the last few days. The approches to it have been closed off by special forces subunits. Armored vehicles have been stationed at key intersections...

According to reports from Manila, the Philippine Armed Forces were placed on alert after intelligence circles learned that preparations were being made for a coup in the country. Supporters of the former president, Marcos, right-wing political figures, and also a number of Army representatives were involved in the preparations. According to the newspaper MALAYA, the conspirators were planning to act before February 2, which is the date of the plebiscite on the new draft Philippine constitution.

While government troops were taking up their positions around the official residence of the head of state, Philippine President Corazon Aquino was almost 1,000 km from the capital, on the island of Mindanao in the south of the archipelago, where she was launching a campaign in support of the new constitution. The bitter polemics over the republic's new draft constitution on the eve of the plebiscite have appreciably complicated the political situation in the country, which is characterized by the increasigly marked polarization of opposing groups and forces.

With the approach of the plebiscite, right-wing opposition forces are markedly stepping up their activity. [paragraph continues]

Politicos who feel "hard done by," officials from the former Marcos regime now removed from power, and also some members of the military who are openly voicing their displeasure with the course taken by the new leadership and, in particular, with its "softness" toward left-wing forces are gathering in this camp. Leading parties from the right wing of the opposition recently announced that they would be forming an alliance in order to coordinate their actions against the adoption of the new constitution.

A prominent role in the leadership of the right-wing opposition alliance, which has been given the title "the Coalition for Democratic Action," is played by one of President Aquino's chief political opponents, a vehement advocate of strengthening the military and political alliance with the United States and a supporter of a tough policy of "ruthlessly destroying communists and left-wing forces" -- Juan Ponce Enrile. While Marcos was in power, Enrile held the post of national defense minister for many years. At the height of events last February, Enrile, together with military units still loyal to him, decided to oppose the doomed president and, as a result, he held onto his position as head of the military department in the new government formed by President Aquino. However, differences between the defense minister and the president on a number of key political issues soon reached a crisis point, particularly after Aquino agreed to talk with the rebels to try to achieve "national reconciliation" and a political settlement of internal conflicts. Last fall Enrile spoke out against making "concessions" to the rebels and threw down a challenge to the president, threatening to take "decisive measures." Rumors persistently circulated in the capital regarding an impending military coup, and Enrile was named as one of the main organizers. Faced with the threat of a putsch, Aquino was forced to reorganize her government and replace her defense minister in particular. Having handed in his resignation, Enrile soon made a bid for leadership in the right wing of the opposition. Those opposed to Aquino's policies, including members of the armed forces, are now uniting around Enrile. The right-wing opposition is trying to prevent the adoption of the new constitution at all costs, as it would allow Corazon Aquino to retain her position as head of state until 1992, and it is in favor of holding an early presidential election.

The leadership of the progressive "People's Party" recently warned President Aquino of an antigovernment conspiracy. The initiators of the warning suggested to the president that she postpone the plebiscite and hold broad consultations with representatives of national democratic forces, with the aim of making a series of substantial changes to the draft constitution. They proposed, in particular, that she revise the clauses on the future of the American military bases on the archipelago's territory, as the present draft leaves the possibility -- albeit with provisos -- of retaining the U.S. military presence in the Philippines. Representatives of democratic and national patriotic forces advocate eliminating the military bases of the United States, which has turned the archipelago's territory into its largets bridgehead in the western Pacific and the 50 million-strong Philippine population into a hostage of Washington's nuclear strategy. There are intensifying demonstrations in the Philippines in favor of annulling the unequal treaties imposed by the United States and monopolies across the ocean, refusing to repay the huge, shackling loans, and carrying out real agrarian reform in the interests of rural workers.

The development of the situation in the Philippines is being closely followed by Washington. Its emissaries -- from high-ranking State Department officials and influential congressmen to experts from the CIA and other special services -- are constantly on "duty tours" in Manila. Reports have appeared in the capital's newspapers saying that the Americans are actively interfering in the talks on issues relating to a political settlement in the Philippines and are making every attempt to torpedo the process of reaching national accord. [paragraph continues]

At the same time, the "experts" across the ocean are holding intensive consultations with the leaders of the right-wing opposition and are coordinating their actions as the day of the plebiscite approaches.

Washington has recently begun to increasingly openly voice its displeasure with the Philippine movement for the elimination of the American military presence, for the country's non-nuclear status, and against the domination of foreign monopolies. People across the ocean are making increasingly frequent attempts to put pressure on the Aquino government and "forcibly adjust" the policies pursued by the Philippine leadership, including through the use of internal opposition forces. U.S. ruling circles are trying to get the Aquino administration to ensure the conditions for maintaining U.S. military and strategic positions in the Philippines and the lucrative activity of the monopolies.

Washington recently sent a powerful squadron to the Philippines headed by the aircraft carriers "Kitty Hawk" and "Enterprise," which was obviously intended to demonstrate the might of the American presence in the archipelago at a time when the Filipinos are to voice their attitude to the new draft constitution.

SOKOLOV GREETS LAO DEFENSE MINISTER ON ARMY DAY

BK210812 Moscow in Lao to Laos 1300 GMT 20 Jan 87

[Text] On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the Lao People's Army [LPA], on 20 January Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Sokolov, on behalf of the Soviet Army and in his own name, expressed wholehearted congratulations to Lao National Defense Minister Khamtai Siphandon and all Lao combatants. The message reads in part:

Passing through the difficult and complex but great path of the struggle for freedom and national independence, the LPA is now firmly safeguarding the Lao people's peaceful labor.

Sergey Sokolov wished the Lao national defense minister and the entire LPA great success in implementing the decisions of the Fourth Lao People's Revolutionary Party Congress regarding the consolidation of their national defense capability.

TOLKUNOV MEETS NEW ZEALAND LABOR PARTY OFFICIALS

LD231734 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 23 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS -- Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today received a delegation from New Zealand's Labour Party headed by the party chairman, Margaret Wilson. The other two delegation members are Anthony Timms, Labour Party secretary general, and F. Wilde, member of parliament.

In the course of the friendly talk, the guests were told about the organisational pattern and activities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and measures that were being taken within the framework of the current reorganisation in the country to develop socialist democracy.

The sides exchanged views on questions of detente and disarmament, of ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region, and developing interparliamentary ties.

PRAVDA NOTES LCY ECONOMIC 'DE-INTEGRATION' DEBATE

PM231253 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[Report by own corresopndent V. Sharov under the rubric "Fraternal Papers. Latest Issues": "KOMUNIST: Urgent Problems"]

[Text] Belgrade -- In its latest issue, the LCY organ KOMUNIST analyzes the consequences of the "excessive de-integration" of the country's economic life.

Following the adoption in 1976 of the Law on Associated Labor, the weekly writes, a large number of enterprises emerged with extensive independence in the matter of solving a number of economic questions. The provisions of the law were not specific enough, and consequently in some places they were taken, one might say, to absurd length. For example, in Belgrade, the LCY organ writes, there is an "enterprise" employing only 12 people. However, it has just as many rights as the Ivo Lola Ribar machine-building plant, which has a collective of many thousands.

The chief sufferers of "excessive de-integration" were such sectors as the power industry, railroad, river, and motor transport, and so forth. The practice of taking economic decisions on the basis of referenda among enterprises has not stood the test of time either, KOMUNIST continues. The weekly includes in the category of negative phenomena the disruption of normal economic ties in large collectives and among republics and provinces, the sluggish elaboration of general plans and programs, the irrational use of production capacities, and the growth of the administrative and managerial apparatus. The LCY organ points out that the number of independent enterprises whose existence is not justified is being reduced.

It is apparent from published material that all these matters were examined at a recent League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee plenum. The plenum made it incumbent on party organizations and all members of the League of Communists to implement the principle of integration in economic life.

It has also been reported that there is to be an LCY Central Committee plenum. In this context, the weekly cites M. Pancevski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who has been entrusted with the task of delivering the main report at the plenum: "The de-integration processes, which have become widespread in our society, are at odds with the vital interests of the working class and a society based on self-management and with the matter of strengthening Yugoslavia as a unified whole." There should be no delay in making the proper changes and amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, KOMUNIST concludes.

CPSU DELEGATION, PZPR SIGN COOPERATION PROGRAM

LD241726 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] Warsaw January 24 TASS -- The programme of the development of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party for the period up to the year 1990 was signed today [Moscow TASS in English at 1742 GMT on 24 January transmits a correction, changing "signed today" to read "agreed upon today"] at the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party during a meeting of member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Jan Glowczyk, secretaries of the PUWP Central Committee Henryk Bednarski and Andrzej Wasilewski with secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev, Anatoliy Dobrynin, Vadim Medvedev, now staying in Warsaw.

The programme envisages stepping up of interaction in exchanging the experience of socialist construction, in developing in the working people of both countries a high level of conscienciousness and initiative in the ideological, political, scientific, technological, production and social spheres. Special importance is attached to using potentials of direct ties in the framework of cooperation between enterprises, research, cultural and educational institutions and organisations, further upgrading and expansion of human contact.

Roads were charted for the intensification of joint scientific analysis of the most important processes taking place in the world of today, deepening of cooperation between the academies of sciences and party educational institutions of the USSR and Poland.

Considerable widening of cooperation in the mass media and among publishers is planned for mutual all-round familiarisation with socio-political life, the development of economy and culture. It is planned, specifically, to bring out a series of books and booklets about the achievements of the Soviet and Polish peoples in science, culture and technology.

The radio and television of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic will increase the number of joint programmes under the heading "Brotherhood-in-Arms -- Brotherhood in Work". The practice of holding television bridges and round table television conferences with participation of Soviet and Polish specialist and journalists will be developed further. Favourable opportunities open for a considerable increase of joint production of films and television films.

Much attention is paid to ideological, political and artistic level of functions held under the plan of cultural and scientific cooperation for 1986-1990. The introduction of a number of new forms of mutual familiarization with cultural levels is envisaged. They include, specifically, the holding of festibals of Polish songs and Polish drama in the USSR, meetings of masters in arts at joint enterprises and construction sites. Measures are planned for the widening of cooperation in sports, and other contacts between youth of the two countries.

Geography of cooperation of the Soviet Union's republics and regions with wojwodships in Poland will be widened. Priority importance is attached to enhancing the effectiveness of local ties, bringing closer the peoples of the two countries.

Much importance is attached to joint functions devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Polish People's Republic, to other remarkable anniversaries.

Other functions in the sphere of scientific, cultural and ideological Soviet-Polish cooperation are envisaged under the programme.

TASS REPORTS MESSNER'S SPEECH TO POLISH SEJM

LD290424 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] Warsaw January 28 TASS -- Poland attaches great importance to the further development of relations with the Soviet Union in all fields, Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, has pointed out.

In his address to the Polish Sejm's session which opened today, he described the country's social and economic situation and the government's activity.

Directions of Polish-Soviet cooperation were outlined during Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to the USSR and Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland and were concretized during the exchange of visits by the heads of the two countries' governments.

"We avoid ostentation and windo dressing in the development of our contacts, laying chief emphasis on efficiency and mutual benefit," Messner said.

The session was attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council.

BRIEFS

POLISH TRADE CONTRACTS -- Moscow January 28 TASS -- Nikodem Muszynski, general director of the Polish foreign trade association "Elektrim," signed in Moscow today a number of contracts for the supply of Polish electrical engineering industry products to the USSR in 1987-1988. "Elektrim's" export to the Soviet market has doubled in the past five years to amount to almost 400 million roubles. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 28 Jan 87 LD]

POLISH FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES SEMINAR -- A seminar of friendship societies of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic has ended in Warsaw. It outlined the common tasks and areas of the work of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society and of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress in the matter of further expanding and deepening all-round cooperation between both countries. The participants in the seminar discussed an extensive program of joint measures devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Jan 87 LD]

HUNGARIAN ELECTRONIC CONTROL EQUIPMENT -- Serial production of electronic control equipment for Soviet industrial robots of the Beta type has started at the Tungsram plant in Hungary. The Soviet Union is producing mechanical parts for the robots and the Hungarians are manufacturing the electronic equipment for them. With the electronic control equipment, the robot will be able to perform welding work and the assembly and finishing of various components. This will allow the Beta robot to be used in the automotive industry. [Summary] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 18 Jan 87 LD]

COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA -- An intergovernmental Soviet-Bulgarian agreement was signed in Moscow today on reciprocal deliveries of ships and ship equipment in the current 5-year plan. The agreement is an integral part of the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria up the the year 2000. It is directed at the further development of specialization and coordination of production between the two countries. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 87 LD]

UK-U.S. BUGGING IRISH EMBASSY IN LONDON CLAIMED

PM261657 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS Report: "Constant Surveillance"]

[Text] Dublin, 25 Jan -- The British secret services together with "specialists" from the U.S. National Security Agency are keeping the Irish Embassy in London under constant surveillance.

THE IRISH TIMES reports that British intelligence is intercepting coded telegrams sent by the embassy to Dublin and decoding them, using the most modern electronic equipment. There is also eavesdropping on conversations on the embassy premises and the work of the typing pool is monitored.

U.S. 6TH FLEET, UK NAVY ARRIVE OFF CYPRUS COAST

LD272215 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Text] Ships of the U.S. 6th Fleet and the British Navy have appeared off the coast of Cyprus. The British naval base [as heard] at Akrotiri has been placed on combat readiness. U.S. F-111 bombers have landed recently at the Akrotiri airfield. The Cypriot press points out that all this military activity is related to the Iran-Iraq military conflict and to the possibility of U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf region.

PRAVDA INTERVIEWS CYPRIOT PRESIDENT KIPRIANOU

PM281253 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[Interview with President Spiros Kiprianou of Cyprus by PRAVDA correspondent V. Potapov: "Spiros Kiprianou: 'Creating a Favorable Climate'"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Nicosia, Jan [no date as published] -- PRAVDA correspondent in Cyprus V. Potapov has asked Cypriot President Spiros Kiprianou to answer a number of questions pertaining to the international situation. We publish the questions and the replies of the president of the Republic of Cyprus. [passage omitted]

[Potapov] What is the Cyprus Government's stance on the Soviet proposals aimed at transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace?

[Kiprianou] Since antiquity the Mediterranean has had a stormy history. As a Mediterranean country, Cyprus naturally has a vested interest in the elimination of all seats of tension in the region and the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation. We are interested in all proposals that can contribute to the achievement of this aim. This is why we responded positively to the Soviet Union's initiatives devoted to the Mediterranean.

Cyprus shares its concern for the Mediterranean with its partners in the Nonaligned Movement and a group of neutal and nonaligned CSCE participant countries. We actively support the declarations of the Nonaligned Movement's summit conferences on the Mediterranean and we are cooperating with other nonaligned Mediterranean countries in this sphere. [paragraph continues]

I hope that the conference of nonaligned Mediterrean countries' foreign ministers, which is due to be held in Belgrade this year, will be successful and will make an important contribution to the achievement of peace and cooperation in the region. Within the framework of the all-European process, Cyprus is supporting efforts aimed at involving Mediterranean states which are not party to this process within this endeavor. Cyprus has always coauthored UN General Assembly resolutions on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Together with other interested countries, we will work tirelessly for peace and security in our region.

[Potapov] On 21 January 1986 the USSR put forward proposals on the principles of a Cyprus settlement and on ways to achieve it. What can you say on this subject?

[Kiprianou] The objective of the Cyprus Government is the achievement of a just, lasting, and constructive solution to the Cyprus problem in accordance with the UN Charter and UN resolutions. We highly value the Soviet Union's lively interest in the achievement of this aim. Soviet interest in the solution of the Cyprus question once again was graphically demonstrated last year when it put forward its 21 January 1986 proposals. From the very beginning we welcomed these Soviet initiatives, which we regard as positive and constructive.

The Soviet proposals aimed at the solution of the Cyprus problem are based on the principles of the UN Charter and UN resolutions. They contain, inter alia, an appeal to halt all actions which lead to the aggravation of the situation in Cyprus. They also call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and for the establishment of a system of international guarantees that would safeguard the independence of Cyprus, rule out all forms of foreign intervention and interference in our affairs, and ban the use or threat of force against Cyprus.

According to the Soviet proposals, the solution of these international aspects of the Cyprus problem is to be achieved by means of an international conference to be held under the aegis of the United Nations. We entirely agree with this stance and fully support it.

In the course of the past year, we have maintained close contact with the Soviet Union with regard to these proposals. We also will continue to maintain such contacts with other countries and with the UN secretary general with a view to advancing toward the implementation of these proposals. I can add here that we have called on the UN secretary general, both in writing and verbally, to accept the proposal for holding an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations and to work toward its convocation. I am deeply convinced that after such a long impasse, the convocation of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations has become a vital necessity.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ANALYZES FRG ELECTION RESULTS

PM281449 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jan 87 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Grigoryev: "Bundestag Election: Parliamentary Surprises and Political Logic"]

[Text] Can it be said that everything remains the same on the West German parliamentary scene? Formally, yes.

Helmut Kohl, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] remains FRG chancellor for the next 4 years. The ruling conservative-liberal coalition -- the CDU bloc with its Bavarian twin, the Christian Social Union [CSU], and the Free Democratic Party [FDP], as the junior partner -- stays in Bonn. It is absolutely clear that the Liberal partner will again get three ministerial portfolios from the Christian Democrats, including the post of foreign minister, which it is also clear Hans-Dietrich Genscher will retain. The Social Democrats [SPD] and the "Greens" will again represent the parliamentary opposition.

However, last Sunday brought surprises which obviously neither political commentators in the FRG capital, nor public opinion institutions, nor those who were actually participating in the fight for seats in the Bundestag could have predicted. In the first place, the CDU/CSU bloc of conservative parties obtained fewer votes. And it should be remembered here that the parties of H. Kohl and F-J. Strauss did not conceal their ambitious dreams of a vast majority and a cabinet without Liberal ministers.

There appeared to be a chance of this. "Tell one and all about the successes of Helmut Kohl's government. Tell everyone what we have achieved and what we are going to achieve. We are consistently banking on optimism!" -- these instructions were given to CDU members during the election campaign by the party's federal secretary, Peter Radunski. Waving the optimistic slogan "As you were, Germany!" beneath portraits of Chancellor Kohl exuding optimism, the Christian Democrats marched into the battle for the Bundestag. The economic situation in the country favored their propagandist approach: Despite the latest foreign exchange upheavals in the capitalist world, the West German mark had strengthened; economic life in the country had picked up, albeit in fits and starts, and exports, which play a leading role in the West Germany economy, had increased. It is true, however, that unemployment in the FRG has increased by 700,000-800,000 during the Christian Democrats' rule and shows no signs of dropping below the record mark of 2.2 million.

In order to conceal these sores or blame them on the Social Democrats, who allegedly completely destroyed the FRG economy when they were in power, the conservatives set in motion a propaganda machine costing DM40 million. Helmut Kohl traveled all over the country by helicopter, speaking at dozens of rallies. The press noted that in terms of the ballyhoo, the election was more like an American election than ever before.

By and large, the foreign policy part of the conservative bloc's election program was tailored to match Washington's strategic course in the world arena: It contained a full justification of the U.S. "Star Wars" plans, endless reminders of "Soviet military superiority," and the pharisaical argument that implementation of the Reykjavik accords allegedly depends on the USSR. Again and again the chancellor came out with his favorite slogan about "peace with fewer weapons," although by then the deployment of all the planned 108 Pershing-2 missiles, aimed at the USSR and its allies, and 16 of the 96 cruise missiles had already been completed.

In fact, the conservative bloc's stance was the same as it had been before. But the voters' mood had changed, and around 2 million of them shunned the demagogic optimism of the CDU/CSU, the ingrained political thinking of the conservatives, and a further move to the right. It was a painful blow, and H. Kohl had to admit this fact in his first television interview late Sunday night: The CDU had 34.5 percent of the vote, the CSU gained 9.8, and the bloc had a total of 223 seats in the Bundestag instead of 244.

The Christian Democrats' main rivals -- the Social Democrats -- were also disappointed with the election result. [paragraph continues]

"We lost. It is not the result we were hoping and working for," Johannes Rau, SPD candidate for the chancellorship, said on television. Here again it is necessary to compare ambitions with achievements. The SPD failed to achieve its 1983 result (37 percent of the vote compared with 38.2 percent). When you consider that in the latter half of last year the party was unsuccessful at the Land elections and many public opinion polls had persistently promised it no more than 35 percent of the vote at the Bundestag election, the result can be regarded as a relative stabilization of its position.

First and foremost -- and with every justification -- in the election struggle the party banked on its foreign policy program, and in particular such important problems as peace, security, and disarmament. The SPD confirmed the inviolability of postwar borders in Europe, enshrined in the "Eastern treaties" signed with its participation.

As for domestic policy, the SPD, although it promised to take steps to reduce unemployment and to improve the standard of living of the lower classes, was unable to present a clear-cut, realistic, popular program.

The junior partner in the former and future coalition in Bonn -- the FDP -- is celebrating. Instead of 7 percent in 1983, the Liberals gained 9.1 percent, which will give them an extra 12 seats (making the total 46 in all). The Free Democrats have made their biggest impact on Bonn's foreign policy, which for many years has been to a considerable extent determined by Hans-Dietrich Genscher. But it is no secret that the policy of detente, of which the minister openly considers himself to be an advocate, causes over displeasure among extreme right-wing forces in the CDU, who are called the "Steel Helmet."

The election provided an even more delightful surprise for the "Greens," who increased their share of the vote from 5.6 percent to 8.3 and their seats from 27 to 42. "Greens" have been in the Bundestag for four years. One recalls the prime parliamentarians being so shocked by their appearance (the "Greens" asked for bicycles instead of official cars and ordered the removal of the fireproof asbestos sheets from the walls of their offices in the Long Eugen skyscrapter because of their carcinogenicity...). To this day, many members of the faction appear in the Bundestag in jeans and bulky sweaters, while the women deputies serenely knit their pullovers during the parliamentary debates. Nevertheless, over the years, the "Greens" have undergone a transformation from a purely ecological grouping, from a party of spontaneous protest, into a political organization with a sound antiwar stance.

Thus for all the parliamentary parties there were surprises, pleasant for some, bad for others. But a certain logic can be discerned in these surprises: People in the FRG are becoming increasingly aware how dangerous it is to move further to the right, especially in foreign policy, and that none of the country's socioeconomic problems can be solved without answering the main question: Is there to be peace or not? It is no accident that an independent antiwar organization, the "Peace List," including the German Communist Party, participated in the election. The FRG Communists formulated their backing for the Soviet program for achieving a nuclear-free world by the year 2000 and the demand to halt all nuclear tests in the slogan "Vote for Peace!" They see the struggle against nuclear war as their paramount task.

FALSE BEACON SAID TO CAUSE MACHEL PLANE CRASH

LD271613 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 27 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS -- Facts show that the disaster of the TU-134 airliner with president of Mozambique Samora Machel on board was the result of a deliberate operation of a powerful false radio beacon situated outside the Maputo airport. This was said by USSR Deputy Civil Aviation Minister Ivan Vasin. He addressed a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today. Guided by a false beacon, the plane veered off course and rode into a highland area on the South African territory, I. Vasin said.

The deputy minister said that even a perfunctory familiarization with reports in the Western press about the accident shows that the reactionary anti-Soviet circles, using these events in provocative purposes, try to whip up another wave of anti-Soviet hysteria and to distract world public from analyzing actual circumstances of the crash of the Mozambican plane.

A new campaign of misinformation in the Western press was prompted by so-called "hearings" in the court organised by the Botha regime to investigate the accident. They opened in the Republic of South Africa on January 20. The activity of that court contradicts norms set by the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), I. Vasin said.

He said the analysis of actions of the crew shows that throughout the flight it was capable of functioning, fully controlled the flight, was in contact with traffic controller on the flight's route and was adequately reacting to navigation information received on board the plane.

I. Vasin said the existence of the false beacon in the area of the plane's fall is also confirmed by the fact that a Boeing-737-200 aircraft owned by the Mozambican Airlines LAM that was on flight from Maputo to Beira 50 minutes after the TU-134 plane, also veered off the course. Besides that, the tripartite commission discovered traces of a removed camp of an army type in the accident's area in the Republic of South Africa. The camp was abandoned the day after the crash.

DEMICHEV RECEIVES NEW IVORY COAST ENVOY

PM211459 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] Moise Aka, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Ivory Coast, presented his credentials to P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin 14 January.

There was a conversation between P.N. Demichev and M. Aka during which they discussed questions of bilateral Soviet-Ivory Coast relations as well as a number of international problems of mutual interest.

Taking part in the conversation were T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and L.F. Ilichev, USSR deputy foreign minister.

PRAVDA 'REJOINDER' ON BOOK-BURNING IN CHILE

PM281246 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 87 First Edition p 7

[Own correspondent P. Bogomolov "Rejoinder": "The Inquisitor Admiral"]

[Text] Havana -- Hernan Rivera Calderon is the name of a certain representative of the Chilean Navy. In the capital city Santiago, especially in the dictator Pinochet's entourage, this zealous thug of an admiral is very well known. And not only known; he has been entrusted with a very honorable post....No, not commander of some transoceanic campaign, but chief of the state of emergency in the Valparaiso Region; in other words, the post of military governor with all the ensuing consequences, especially those of a gendarme nature.

This naval leader is already famous for his antipopular repressions. These follow one another both in accordance with orders from Santiago and according to the urgent prescriptions of the Washington "fighters for rights." However, the trouble is: Outside the country, practically nobody knows H. Rivera Calderon. But the Colombian writer and humanist Gabriel Garcia Marquez, for instance, is known to millions of readers throughout the world. "Can that be right?" the admiral raged, and answered his own question: "No, it is not right!" That being so, a special order was issued without delay: to burn all 15,000 copies of Garcia Marquez' books confiscated from the stores and libraries of Valparaiso!

They say that now, after consigning to the flames the works of the Nobel Prize winner who wrote "One Hundred Years of Solitude" and other masterpieces of Latin American literature, the inquisitor admiral has proposed the establishment of an international prize "for the mass annihilation of heresy." Incidentally, it could bear the name of one of the frenzied leaders of the Third Reich who is revered to this day in the Pinochet clique.

SOVIET TEACHERS WIN ACCEPTANCE IN NICARAGUA

PM211231 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 8 Jan 87 p 3

[A. Strogov report under the rubric "Aspects of Cooperation": "Cadres Being Trained"]

[Text] Cadre training is one of the important spheres of the strengthening Soviet-Nicaraguan economic and technical cooperation. The Simon Bolivar Power Industry Training Center in Managua, a polytechnical training center in Leon, and two sections at an existing center for training motor vehicle mechanics and communications workers, constructed with our country's assistance, have been commissioned and are working successfully.

Apart from training cadres for key sectors of the Nicaraguan economy, work is done at the centers, under the guidance of Soviet lecturers and craftsmen, on repairing automobiles, tractors, highway machinery, and electric motors, and spare parts and other items are manufactured there. Nicaragua has an acute need for all this under the conditions of the economic blockade imposed by the United States after it broke off the traditional economic ties.

The most interesting example is the polytechnical training center in Leon, where Soviet equipment has been installed in shops and workshops belonging to the Catholic La Salle order and where Soviet teachers have also worked.

Briefly, its history is as follows: In 1904, the order founded a small tailoring school, which grew with time and began to specialize in more and more complex trades. The church tried to keep in step with scientific and technical progress and made good use of it to gain the sympathies of young Nicaraguans.

After the victory of the Sandinist revolution, the government decided to renew the center's thoroughly worn-out equipment and to invite Soviet lecturers to work there. The fathers were not particularly delighted with this decision and awaited the arrival of the "godless" newcomers with apprehension. The Soviet lecturers had to endure many trials: Initially they were given no help at all, and the priests watched them closely to see what the Russians, about whom Somozist propaganda had been spreading all kinds of fairy tales for many decades, were up to. And the Russians showed how they could work. Rolling up their sleeves, in 30-degree heat, the teachers broke open boxes, unpacked equipment, and put in bearings for machine tools from dawn to dusk.

Such work was a revelation to the monks, because none of the teachers from capitalist countries worked so hard, preferring to complain about the lack of proper facilities. What was more, the Soviet specialists had no intention of organizing meetings among the students or of trying to dissuade them from their belief in God, and this in the end broke the ice of distrust and led to the establishment of normal working relations, both with the members of the La Salle order and with colleagues from other countries.

The very fact of the Soviet teachers' presence and their selfless work had their effect, demonstrated the Soviet way of life, and refuted the slanderous inventions of Western propaganda. Many young Nicaraguans began enquiring with interest about various aspects of life in the Soviet Union and always received the most exhaustive answers supported by photographs, pamphlets, and other material. After such conversations, many students were fired with the dream of studying in the USSR. And that dream is entirely realistic, because hundreds of Nicaraguan students go to the Soviet Union to study every year.

Soviet-Nicaraguan cooperation in cadre training continues to develop. The commissioning of an agricultural mechanization training center is coming up soon in the city of Sebaco, which will train tractor drivers in a wide range of skills, repairmen, and machine operators for irrigation system pumping stations. Considering that agriculture is the basis of the country's economy, these professions are of particular importance to Nicaragua.

KATUSHEV SEES CUBAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OFFICIAL

PM271149 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Report"]

[Text] On 21 January K.F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, had a meeting with Antonio Esquivel Yedra, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers.

KAZAKH CADRES COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP REPORTED

PM261321 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 87 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] Composition of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Council for work with cadres and the distribution of its members' duties [subhead]

G.V. Kolbin -- first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, chairman:

- -- overall leadership;
- -- planning of work;
- -- ensuring end result in the matter of:

  a) forming stable labor collectives;
  b) training a reserve of cadres for promotion in every republican organ with a consideration for their specific qualities;
  c) ensuring proper representational proportions in terms of nationality in all elected public and leading posts;
  d) training national cadres and promoting them to union organs;
  e) making rational use of existing manpower resources in the republic;
  f) organizing individual work with leading cadres and cadres from the elected, party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol aktiv with a view to enhancing cadres' personal responsibility for the end results.

S.K. Kubashev -- second secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the council:

- -- fulfilling all demands for the formation of stable labor collectives, training a reserve of cadres, ensuring proper representational proportions in terms of nationality in elected and leading posts, and organizing individual work with cadres in sectors under the direction of Central Committee sections.

Members of the Council: [subhead]

Z.K. Kamalidenov -- secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee:

- -- regulating the staff of all elected organs and cadres from the leading staff in terms of nationality for the republic as a whole;
- -- fulfilling all demands for the formation of stable labor collectives, training a reserve of cadres for promotion, ensuring proper representational proportions in terms of nationality in elected and leading posts, and organizing individual work with cadres in sectors under the direction of Central Committee sections.

Ye.F. Bashmakov -- secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee:

- -- fulfilling all demands for the formation of stable labor collectives, training a reserve of cadres, ensuring proper representational proportions in terms of nationality in elected and leading posts, and organizing individual work with cadres in sectors under the direction of Central Committee sections.

L.Ye. Davletova -- secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee:

- -- fulfilling all demands for the formation of stable labor collectives, training a reserve of cadres, ensuring proper representational proportions in terms of

nationality in elected and leading posts, and organizing individual work with cadres in sectors under the direction of Central Committee sections.

A.P. Rybnikov -- secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee:

-- fulfilling all demands for the formation of stable labor collectives, training a reserve of cadres, ensuring proper representational proportions in terms of nationality in elected and leading posts, and organizing individual work with cadres in sectors under the direction of the Central Committee sections.

S. Mukashev -- chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

-- fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "on the further improvement of the party leadership of the soviets of people's deputies";
-- organizing work in all soviet organs for the development of individual work with cadres:

a) updating character references;
b) leaders' reports at their places of residence in electoral okrugs;
c) recalls of deputies who have failed to give a good account of themselves followed by a publication on the subject in the press;
d) the compass of all questions relating ex officio to the leaders of soviet organs.

N.A. Nazarbayev -- chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers:

-- forming stable labor collectives;
-- making tougher demands on leaders of labor collectives for meeting socioeconomic development plans for all indicators;
-- ensuring proper national representational proportions in the leadership of ministries, departments, committees, and other republican organs of management;
-- updating character references for nomenklatura workers;
-- organizing professional training and retraining for cadres and creating a reliable reserve of cadres;
-- increasing exactingness toward the leaders of republican organs of management and their local subdivisions for the strictest observance of state discipline;
-- pursuing a policy that is balanced in all respects for forming plans for the recruitment of students and pupils, training higher and specialized secondary educational establishment cadres; and placing and retaining them.

E.M. Zhakselekov -- chairman of the Kazakhstan Trade Unions Council:

-- organizing work to increase the responsibility of the elected trade union aktiv for the solution of the following questions;
-- defending working peoples' interests and rights;
-- fulfilling economic and social development plans;
-- making tougher demands on leaders of all ranks for the solution of the housing and food problems and mobilizing the masses and consolidating business ties with workers of the AUCCTU and the central committees of sectorial trade unions to achieve these goals;
-- organizing the training of a skilled reserve of cadres with a consideration for the specific features of trade union work;

-- ensuring an opportunity for the growth of cadres within the system itself;
-- organizing individual work with cadres and increasing each person's personal responsibility for ensuring end results.

B.V. Isayev -- chairman of the Kazakh SSR People's Control Committee:

-- reducing the number of measures of administrative pressure which are taken and at the same time stepping up preventive work forestalling abuses throughout the system of people's control work;
-- defining measures to enhance the role of departmental control, improving the checks carried out in it, and enhancing the responsibility of primary leaders for the results of the work of controlling organs;
-- training a reserve of cadres in the system under his subordination and ensuring the vertical promotion of people's control organ workers within his system;
-- restructuring the thinking of the cadres of the entire people's control committee system from the position of the committed fulfillment of economic and social development plans. Ensuring their participation in the general struggle for the fulfillment of the entire complex of indicators taken into account in all-union socialist competition.

S. Abdrakhmanov -- first secretary of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee:

-- organizing individual work with cadres in the republican Komsomol organization;
-- reports of Komsomol members in primary Komsomol organizations on the fulfillment of social and production obligations;
-- updating the character references of nomenklatura workers;
-- defining the personal responsibility of each worker belonging to an elected collegial organ;
-- ensuring proper national representation proportions in all elected Komsomol organs;
-- taking part in work to prepare secondary school graduates for entry to VUZ's, proceeding from the requirements of the national economy for specialists in each of the republic's oblasts and with a consideration for their own requests and national representation proportions;
-- guiding young students of all nationalities to begin their working careers as workers.

Central Committee section chiefs Ye.M. Asanbayev, I.B. Yedilbayev, V.I. Yefimov, N.F. Krasnoselskiy, V.G. Manankov, A.N. Nurushev, L.I. Pingarev, K.S. Smailov, N.P. Smolkov, K.S. Sultanov, S.V. Urzhumov, A.A. Ustinov, and I.V. Tsvetkov; A.A. Mukhambetov, chairman of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission; A.G. Stanenin, Central Committee administrator of affairs; and R.M. Kaliyeva, deputy chief of the Central Committee Foreign Relations section:

-- organizing work to form stable labor collectives in all sectors and at enterprises and in organizations under the direction of the relevant section;

-- constantly steering leaders toward the improvement of work with people and toward personal responsibility for forming stable labor collectives (the presence of a cadres shortage must be assessed as a serious flaw in the professional qualities of a collective leader);

-- strengthening enterprise, ministry, and department cadres services. Enhancing their responsibility for the end result and for staffing the collective entrusted to them;

-- eradicating instances where people are "fixed up" as deputy director (or ministers) when they are counting on this post as allegedly demanding no exertion;

-- excluding the promotion of people on the "unsuitability" principle (that is when someone who has made a mess of a job is moved to another post, to another organ with no fewer material benefits. Most frequently such people have been sent to cadres services, soviet and trade union organs, and the People's Control Committee system. It is for precisely this reason that as a rule there is no natural cadres growth in these organs: A deputy does not become a chairman, and a leader is not promoted within his own system);

-- organizing the business of stepping up individual work with cadres through Communists' reporting in the primary party organization, the updating of character references, certification, and so forth;

-- defining measures to enhance the personal responsibility of those who belong to elected organs, ruling out instances of boasting, of overemphasizing one's own merits, and of plagiarism in socioeconomic development indicators (when someone has made no personal contribution to their attainment and backs up the sometimes ineffectual conferences and seminars which have been held with results achieved by other people);

-- organizing systematic work with colleagues from lower-ranking party committees. He must seek to ensure that they all "give their all" to ensure the end results;

-- organizing work to train a reserve of cadres for promotion while strictly observing fairness with respect to nationality.

V.A. Auman -- deputy chief of the Central Committee propaganda and agitation section, chief of the national relations sector:

-- ensuring a scientifically substantiated approach toward the promotion of cadres on the basis of nationality;
-- excluding the unseemly practice whereby posts seem to be assigned to representatives of a particular nationality. (After a leader has left a post, a successor of the selfsame nationality has frequently automatically taken over the leader's chair in his place. This has meant that it is not professional and political qualities which have been foremost, but national allegiance. An approach must be ensured for the sector whereby professional and political qualities become the priority in promoting cadres. Here national representation in all elected organs and the leading echelon must be kept track of strictly);
-- organizing the scientifically substantiated training of a reserve for promotion according to nationality. (It is essential to make it a rule to promote the most able representatives of each nationality, because the promotion of people with mediocre attributes gradually forms an incorrect idea of a particular nationality).

B.A. Demin -- chief of the Central Committee general section:

-- promptly preparing questions for discussion;
-- organizing the work of the council (collating and issuing plans, publishing materials with the involvement of press workers).

KOLBIN ADDRESSES KAZAKH RESTRUCTURING SEMINAR

PM191501 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 87 pp 1-3

[Text] A conference-seminar devoted to the restructuring of party work in the republic in the light of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Perm Party Obkom was held at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee 3 January. It was addressed by Comrade G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and other comrades. Taking part in the work of the conference-seminar were senior officials from the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, and party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms.

Materials from the conference-seminar are published below.

Main Attention to Questions of Restructuring [subhead]

Clear-cut demands on questions of restructuring were outlined in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress. It said in particular that restructuring means fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum's demands regarding questions of acceleration. Consequently, restructuring requires that the time taken to solve all problems of economic and social deveopment be reduced and that the most complex among them be tackled first; primarily those which have been awaiting solution for years, thus making people lose confidence that a solution is possible. They must be solved more rapidly than they build up.

We must do everything to ensure that specific results make people really sense noticeable changes for the better, both in the economy's development and in the solution of social tasks, and that people acquire faith in our strength and potential. The quest for the best ways to solve the problems that are being tackled must be accompanied by creativity in work, imaginative approaches toward matters, and changed criteria for evaluating labor and must ensure a turnabout in public awareness and people's behavior, a restructuring of their thinking.

It is well known that the restructuring of thinking which has taken shape over many years is an exceptionally difficult task. But it must be solved. At the same time, even the smallest opportunity must be utilized to find approaches toward existing thinking which would change the state of affairs for the better in the desired direction. For example, the absolute majority of leaders are accustomed to fulfilling the indicators for which they are held responsible. This habit need not always be changed if, for example, there is a change in the evaluation criteria and if leaders are held responsible for those indicators and those results of work which change the state of affairs on various issues fundamentally and in a revolutionary fashion. You know that everyone is used to the fact that our evaluation of leaders' activity on housing matters has been based on the number of square meters commissioned. If you hand over 2-3 percent more housing area than in the previous reporting period, you receive high assessments. But no one analyzes or has a clear idea whether the prevailing trend is toward this problem's solution or toward its buildup. After all, in this case the waiting list may grow more rapidly than people on it are housed. Therefore, it is necessary to change the evaluation criteria and to make enterprise leaders answerable for the pace at which the list is shortened and to ensure, for example, that the problem begins to be solved more rapidly than it builds up during the 12th 5-Year Plan period.

The solution of the global task set by the 27th CPSU Congress -- to provide a separate apartment or house for each family by the year 2000 -- requires the definition of intermediate stages approximately coinciding with each of the next three 5-year plan periods, and annual stages within each 5-year plan period. It would make sense, for example, to outline measures for the 12th 5-Year Plan period ensuring that all those waiting to be housed in various organizations acquire housing at an equal annual rate over the 5 years. This is certainly a complex and responsible task, but it must be tackled. Work must be done on a long-term basis, and, while meeting the housing requirements of those already on the waiting list at the start of the 5-year plan period, we must bear in mind that there will be more and more people desiring to improve their housing conditions.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that many people today are not filing housing applications for two main reasons: Some see no prospect of their needs being satisfied because the waiting time, especially in soviet organs, reaches 15-17 years. To be frank, people do not believe us; they do not believe that we will be able to provide them with housing any more quickly. Others might agree to wait that long and join the list, but they are not put on the list because they have 6-7 square meters of housing per family member, and today we do not class such families among those in urgent need.

Take another issue, like the solution of the problem of supplying the population with dairy products. Over the years we have gotten used to judging the state of affairs accordng to the pace of development of dairy production and the daily milk yield per feed cow compared with the same day in the previous year. If the milk yield has increased by 100 or 200 centiliters per day, this means progress and success. This immediately results in positive assessments of the work of party, soviet, and economic leaders. And yet this is just one of many factors involved in solving the dairy problem. This means that evaluation criteria must be replaced -- by, for example, an approach involving the calculation of how much milk should be purchased daily from all categories of farms, including personal subsidiary plots, in order to fully satisfy the population's needs for dairy products, and how much is actually purchased on any given day. The difference represents our shortfall, must engender dissatisfaction with what has been done, and must encourage the quest for ways to solve specific tasks. To put it more simply, methods to ensure, not merely indicators, that milk is produced.

Such an approach toward solving an economic task means that, in addition to increasing milk yields, we must seek ways to boost the marketability of milk on farms, increase milk purchases from the population, and secure the total end results needed for the cause and for people -- not merely for reports and bonuses.

This is how we must act in every sphere of solving economic and social tasks.

There is a long established practice in party and other work whereby we have influenced the state of affairs only by the very process of discussing the problem which we were trying to solve. And what was the customary approach toward issues that became established? A CPSU Central Committee Plenum would be held and would formulate tasks concerning various issues in the country, laying down approaches and demands at the partywide level. Discussions of this question would be held at republican, oblast, city, and rayon levels automatically, as if on a conveyor belt. But only as a rehash of the partywide tasks with which everyone was already familiar. The partywide demands were not studied in depth, as applied to the level of the republican, oblast, or city organization's work. But party work comprises two elements: to make people aware of an idea and to ensure its implementation. The second task is more complex. It presupposes both a quest for the best way and the organization of matters. It was this second, more complex task that we did not tackle properly, while placing all the emphasis on the first part -- rehashing and explanation. Everyone was fed up with this long ago, except those who did the rehashing.

It was, after all, easier. Especially as many people did not even do the rehashing themselves, but relied instead on the criteria and capabilities of their aides or a research assistant.

It become a matter of fact in our work that many leaders failed to tackle all the questions falling within their official duties, even though they received all the relevant benefits in full. Social injustice became firmly established. After all, leaders used to choose the indicators that were most convenient for them. They usually chose indicators that would boost their prestige, achieved some showy results, andmade inflated self-assessments. But the interests of the cause demand that not only one or two, but all questions falling within one's official duties be tackled and solved.

This became particularly well established among soviet organ leaders: You can't cover all the issues, they said, no matter how hard you try. And so they did not try, and they did not cover them.

The question naturally arises at this point: How indeed can you ensure the performance of all the tasks falling within your official duties? And how long should a senior official's open-ended workday last -- 10, 12, or 15 hours? The answer if simple: Everyone must work for as long as it takes to fully tackle the solution of all questions falling within his official duties and to secure the necessary result in all spheres of work. And for this purpose he must work as long as necessary. Everything depends on a person's talent and ability. Some people would probably have to work 15 hours a day, including Saturdays, Sundays, and public holidays, while others would do everything they have to without overextending themselves. What if someone works day and night without any results, how is he to be assessed? Very simply: This person has been assigned a post that is beyond his strength. He cannot cope with it; he lacks the ability, will, common sense, and talent. Therefore, organizational conclusions must be drawn and this section must be reinforced with more capable people.

Restructuring demands prodound analysis of the organization and content of work itself, of how things were, and of what must be done to work in a different fashion. It demands tht a greater workload be assigned to everyone -- from rank-and-file workers to the leaders of the highest party, soviet, and economic organs.

Party organs at all levels -- the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the party obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and the primary party organizations -- must be generators of ideas in the organization of work on restructuring. Yes, generators of ideas. Party leaders must exude increasing energy ensuring radical, revolutionary changes in questions concerning the acceleration of the economy's development and the solution of social problems.

Many people, however, have still not abandoned their former approaches and are not restructuring their work. Taking all these elements into account, the CPSU Central Committee deemed it expedient to analyze in depth the activity of the Perm party obkom. Stagnant phenomena in the oblast were brought to light, and substantial complaints were voiced against the obkom: over its inadequate implementation of the favorable opportunities which have emerged since the congress for profound qualitative changes in economic and social life, and over the fact that the obkom is slow to translate partywide directives into practical actions and is not doing enough to ensure that the congress instructions are really asserted by every party committee and every primary party organization.

The party obkom's activity, the Central Committee resolution notes, lacks dynamism, scope, and businesslike efficiency. The oblast's party committees have failed to learn lessons from the fact that economic and social development slowed down in recent years and that the causes of stagnant phenomena were not fully revealed. [paragraph continues]

The existing powerful production, scientific, and cadre potential is inefficiently utilized and the working people's initiative is not properly developed.

The demands contained in this document help us to draw parallels as regards the work of many obkoms in our republican party organization.

Let us begin with the economy.

The fact that the republic's industrial output growth in the 11th 5-Year Plan period amounted to just 19 percent can only be seen as a profound failure.

The expenditure incurred on creating industrial production capacities has not been justified by the corresponding returns.

The 1st year of the new 5-year plan is over. The growth rates that have emerged seem to be tolerable compared with past achievements. But what are we comparing them with? A profound failure in economic development, when we should be comparing them with our potential. How much output can we produce in line with the potential we have created, and how much are we actually producing? The size of the difference represents the volume of our shortfall.

Take, for example, the activity of our machine building enterprises. How are capacities utilized there?

Last year Alma-Ata's "XX Let Oktyabrya" Plant (Comrades Bulygin and Bakayev) manufactured only 95 of the 700 new more precise and productive machine tools so urgently needed for the retooling of machine building. Production volume and labor productivity declined in comparison with 1985. Yet the Alma-Ata party gorkom headed by Comrade Shuliko not only did not display proper initiative but also failed to fulfill the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee's instructions concerning this plant.

A considerable decline in pace was allowed to occur during the 1st year of the 5-year plan at the Dzhambul municipal machine building plant (Comrades Zhuk and Orlova), the Alma-Ata bearing repair plant (Comrades Utebaliyev and Plyusnina), and the Aktyubinsk chemical plant (Comrades Sandybayev and Lyutrov).

The whole country is emulating the experience of Leningraders and switching to multishift working so as to fully load highly productive equipment and thereby enhance labor productivity and increase output volume. At the same time, this makes it possible to dismantle obsolete low-productivity equipment, release production space, and utilize it properly. And to channel the money saved into the solution of the housing problem and other social questions. We have still not really tackled this work; it is inordinately protracted, and here too we are faced with the imperative need to revise our positions.

We have elaborated the "Intensification-90" program, whose implementation is supposed to ensure faster production growth rates. But we must also remember that no program elaborated for a long period, and especially for a 5-year period, should or could be static. It must be constantly amended and reviewed as new technological achievements and developments appear. In particular, it is extremely necessary for us to examine questions like the creation of rotary conveyor lines on a territorial scale to ensure the solution of production questions of regional importance, a sharp reduction of labor expenditure, and savings in human labor.

Last year's results in terms of the pace gathered in industrial production satisfy only one section of the population -- republican and oblast bosses and economic leaders. [paragraph continues]

The gratification is accompanied by meaningful mutual backslapping and expressions of smugness because the average annual growth of industrial output has increased from 3.5 percent to just over 5 percent. But what do people at a lower level feel about this? Particularly shop and section leaders and workers in mass trades? Of course, you cannot take away a certain pride among them, but they must also see specific results from the faster pace of economic development: better housing conditions and food supplies, a solution to the problems of collective horticulture, the repair of housing and hostels, and amenities, and other questions involving people's vital interests.

We must organize matters so that the noticeable changes for the better resulting from the process of restructuring are felt by people today, and not in 5 or 10 years' time. And for this purpose it is necessary to find the best ways to solve these tasks and to make fuller use of existing production potential. Hence, the solution of social questions depends mainly on our economic development and the rate of national income growth.

This is why the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau poses the question thus: to ensure at least a 6-percent rate of industrial output growth in the 2nd year of the 5-year plan period against the planned growth rate of about 5 percent. Where and how are reserves to be found? Through the fuller utilization of existing capacities through technical and organizational measures. Judge for yourselves. More than 270 enterprises, or about 15 percent of them, now fail to fulfill their production plan. Estimates show that the republic would gain the required 6 percent just by eliminating this shortcoming. We must also take measures to increase the manufacture of additional output, to improve the use of worktime, and to organize subbotniks. After all, if the statistical reports are to be believed, each subbotnik gives us maximum output, sometimes representing 110-120 percent of daily output. And yet the monthly results show no additional output. This is incorrect. This is apolitical, because the additional output produced on communist subbotniks is being "spread" and kept in reserve for the leader. He uses his personal disorganization to build up a "safety margin" in the event of failure on other days, and sometimes simply for mercenary reasons -- not to create additional bother for himself by revealing the potential for the creation of a higher baseline which would then be used as the starting point or computing new plan targets.

We must resolutely end such activity and pose the issue in the following terms: Every enterprise, rayon, city, and oblast, and the republic as a whole should ensure overfulfillment of plan targets by 12 hours each month. Is this difficult? Not at all. After all, not a month goes by without enterprise leaders asking trade union organs to work a Saturday, a so-called "black Saturday," or overtime. If extra time is worked, this means that there should be extra output. What if there is not?

There is a simple explanation here: If it begins to look likely that the plan will be wrecked through the enterprise leader's fault, he tearfully asks all organs for help and for a chance for overtime work. This seems to be in order. After all, if we formulate a party demand to the effect that each month's plan must be overfulfilled by 12 hours, and, say, difficulties develop in meeting this party target, what is a leader supposed to do: beg for the chance of additional overtime work or deem it possible to ignore the party demand?

The reply that comes to mind is this: Our party demands regarding faster rates of industrial output growth are dictated by the acute necessity to seek out the appropriate material resources for solving social problems. This is no whim. It is not a matter of prestige; it is a demand of the time dictated by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. [paragraph continues]

And the Basic Guidelines adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress list the republic's target for the 5-year plan period: The rate of industrial output growth must reach 23-26 percent; it has been frankly said that this must be considered the minimum. What should the maximum rate be?

This is a matter for each leader's party conscience. One thing is clear, however: The former approaches toward the acceleration of growth rates are no longer acceptable today. This is why the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau decided to instruct the Council of Ministers to study, together with all oblast subdivisions, the question of ensuring a growth rate of more than 6 percent in the republic as a whole. And to do this in such a way that the plan targets set by union and republican departments, oblast planning commissions, party obkoms, and the appropriate lower party, soviet, and economic leaders ensure this through counterplans and pledges in order to determine each region's share in solving the common republican task. It is evident that there can be no identical approach toward growth rates. They will be different in each sector, and different oblasts have different potentials. This is why the Council of Ministers must set each oblast reference points in the light of its potential. And the party obkoms and party committees at other levels must back up these reference points with a guaranteed increase in output growth rates.

Output Quality and Delivery Discipline on the Agenda [subhead]

The Central Committee resolution on the Perm party obkom raises the question of the fact that the work of party, soviet, and economic organs, public organizations, and labor collectives is still poorly geared to the search for and activation of reserves for labor productivity growth, improved output quality, and a more rigorous policy of thrift. In our republic these issues are covered by the republican "Intensification-90" program. But today we are saying that even this program can satisfy no one as regards output quality. We know of numerous instances when warehouses are overstocked because of the poor quality of manufactured output, including consumer goods. And this is happening at a time when the commodity turnover plan is not being fulfilled.

Compared with 1985, there has been an increase in the perentage of reject articles at most enterprises producing consumer goods. More than 27 percent of the output produced by the Semipalatinsk leather and fur association, and 20 percent of the Kustanay leather footwear factory's output, is substandard. Output quality at the Karaganda and Dzhambul factories is poor. As a result of output being returned for failing to meet quality standard demands, these enterprises alone had to deduct about R5 million from their total sales of goods meant for the population.

An inspection of 408 enterprises within the system of the Kazakh SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee (Comrade Gukasov) revealed substandard output at 219 of them. Some 70 percent of inspected enterprises of the Kaxakh Potrebsoyuz (Comrade Arsenov) manufacture output of unsatisfactory quality. Some 25 percent of bread and bakery products and more than 20 percent of sausage products were rejected last year. And this does not apply only to consumer goods. We have numerous examples where the quality of output bearing the index "N" and state Seal of Quality fails to match up to world standards and has been "achieved" through the "firepower" of economic and party leaders.

For many years on end the Petropavlovsk plant for sound reproduction equipment (Comrade Kalmykov) produced the "Romantik" tape recorder bearing the state Seal of Quality, even though its technical specification and reliability in operation bear no comparison not only with foreign but even with the best Soviet-made models. Up to 20 percent of these tape recorders went back to workshops for repairs under guarantee immediately after they were workshops for repairs under guarantee immediately after they were sold. [paragraph continues]

USSR State Committee for Standards organs were forced to withdraw the pentagonal seal of honor from this product, which, however, did not cause any particular worry either at the plant or at the party obkom. The trade network continues to receive output which fails to meet the modern standards for domestic radio equipment in terms of a whole range of features.

The "Moda" store has been operating for more than 3 years now in the city of Alma-Ata for the purpose of advertising and studying the demand for original and fashionable products, and is supplied mainly with the best examples of the output of enterprises under the republican Ministry of Light Industry in the capital. There of all places you might expect to see really top-quality products. One is struck, however, by the primitive designs of dresses and suits from the 1 May Sewn Goods Association, outerwear and headwear from the Gagarin Association, and sewn goods from the lawmaker of fashion -- the Republican Couture House. In fact, many of these products gather dust in the store's warehouse, and more than 10 percent of them are returned to the manufacturer. It is difficult to understand the stance taken on these matters by the Alma-Ata party gorkom and raykoms, which still seem to have no time to deal specifically with the problem of quality.

Today, when we are talking about high party and state responsibility, about the fact that the interests of the party and state cause take precedence over everything, we must adopt a stance whereby, in a display of lofty party-mindedness, we ourselves refuse to accept the Seal of Quality whenever articles fail to meet this standard so as not to undermine the reputation and prestige of our republic, one of the largest in the country.

The switch of output to state acceptance is a particular issue. Thirty-eight associations and enterprises under almost 20 ministries and departments switched to state acceptance as of 1 January.

Facts indicate, however, that most leaders and party organizations approched this exceptionally important economic and political event without sufficient responsibility. Work to prepare enterprises for state acceptance was diluted among ordinary affairs, and paramount attention was not given to it until the last moment. A long time was wasted on fruitless discussion; 3-4 months were spent on just preparing orders, and the necessary purposeful restructuring did not occur. The result was that the valuable time assigned for preparations was wasted.

The Pavlodar Party Obkom (Comrades Yerpilov and Shakirimov) tolerated carelessness and indifference at the "Pavlodarskiy Traktornyy Zavod" Production Association (Comrades Chava and Zhigulin). Even by mid-November they had still not decided who was to do what. Only two-thirds of the necessary amendments to technological documents had been effected. About 30 percent of technological processes are still carried out according to the so-called "adjustment" scheme. And it is only now, when state acceptance has been fully introduced, that this work has been properly launched at long last.

The leaders of the Karaganda metallurgical combine (Comrades Akbiyev and Kachura) also approaches the transition to state acceptance without due responsibility. The dispatch of finished products from the rolling shops was prohibited by state acceptance organs on 11 occasions in November and December.

Generally, the situation regarding quality remains unsatisfactory at the combine. Compared with last year, rejected output in the hot-rolled sheet shop not only has not fallen but has actually increased 1.5 times. Questions of rejecting and selling second-grade output have still not been resolved. The yield of serviceable tin plate has diminished; its volume now totals only 80 percent against the 93 percent norm. [paragraph continues]

Work on the automation of the tin shop has still not been completed. And yet everyone understands that, unless these defects are eliminated in the very near future, it will be impossible to achieve the required quality; the entire output of tin for cans -- planned at 275,000 metric tons in 1987 -- may fail to meet the requirements of state standards and, naturally, may not leave the enterprise gates. But neither the combine, nor the Karaganda party obkom (Comrade Kalmagambetov), nor the oblispolkom display initiative and persistence in accelerating the solution of all these questions.

Nor is the party obkom concerned over the state of affairs at the "Kargormash" Association (Comrades Topol and Burov). The proportion of top quality output fell by two-thirds in a short time there, and the technical standard of its articles declined. So it was no accident that Comrade Gvozdev's team from the "Raspadskaya" Mine, famous throughout the country, used an open letter in the central press to criticize this association's output and called on it to improve reliability and quality. Even after this, however, the same defects, gross violations of technology, and deviations from the standards still come to light. Essentially, the enterprise today is unprepared to work under conditions of extradepartmental monitoring.

The Kentau excavator plant proved totally unprepared for state acceptance in full view of the Kentau gorkom (Comrade Kabirov) and the Chimkent party obkom (Comrade Chernenko). The plant's leadership (Comrade Ten) and its party organization (Comrade Kozhakhmetov) failed to conduct the necessary preparatory work for the timely revision and amendment of technical documents and the inspection of the technological accuracy of equipment and instruments, did not organize proper checks on incoming supplies, and did not take measures to strengthen ties with suppliers. As a result, not a single excavator passed the state acceptance during 3 months of selective work by extradepartmental monitoring. Nor is there any hope that this important output will start flowing after the inauguration of official acceptance.

The leaders and the party committee of the Alma-Ata heavy machine building plant (Comrades Bitnyy and Nukenov) were also very late in starting preparations for state acceptance. They wasted 3 months on shilly-shallying. And now they have embarked on a palliative solution -- the gradual preparation of technical documentation. However, the situation there is very acute. About 30 percent of technical documents are below the required standards, and over one-half of the equipment fails to ensure technological precision in the manufacture of components.

This situation demanded the most active intervention in the plant's affairs by the Alma-Ata party obkom and gorkom. But they did not analyze matters in depth, nor provide the necessary assistance in raising the matter with the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building. We cannot tolerate this situation. The plant is the country's sole producer of custom-made metal rolling equipment, and its unsatisfactory work may result in serious consequences for consumers. This is why the timetables and schedules drawn up by the plant for the review of technical documents and the preparation of equipment must be immediately revised and shortened as much as possible.

The question of switching to state acceptance as regards the quality of manufactured output was discussed in the CPSU Central Committee at Politburo member level under the chairmanship of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee. Our task is to ensure a proper switch to state acceptance in all designated enterprises. And at the same time to accelerate preparations for the switch to state acceptance in other enterprises. Time waits for no man; time demands radical changes on questions of the quality of the developed and manufactured output.

The CPSU Central Committee noted in its resolution on the Perm obkom that the obkom failed to create a united front struggle for acceleration in all sectors of work. There is no improvement in state and plan discipline at many enterprises. Some cities, rayons, sectors, and enterprises are marching confidently forward, while others are marking time or losing ground. Our republic has quite a few similar examples.

Only 62 percent of production capacities have been assimilated at Semipalatinsk's "Kazakhkabel" Plant. Consequently, in 1986 its shortfall deliveries of important output like heat-resistant wire and cable products to consumers totaled almost R500,000.

The main reason is the acute shortage of skilled cadres because of the serious lag in the pace of construction of housing, children's preschool institutions, and young people's hostels.

There has been virtually no reduction in cadre turnover. Half the workers who resign attribute their decision to the lack of prospects of acquiring housing or a place in a hostel. And what prospects can there be when even the miserably inadequate funds allocated by the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry are not fully assimilated by the republican Ministry of Construction. For example, only R800,000 of the earmarked R1.3 million has been included in the contract work plan of the Semipalatinskzhilstroy" Trust. These questions did not appear overnight; they have been acutely felt for many years, but the Semipalatinsk party obkom and primarily its secretary Comrade Pavlovich failed to give them the proper attention.

The iron foundry is the leading enterprise of the "Tselinogradkormmash" Production Association, and its output is supplied on a production sharing basis to dozens of enterprises producing machines for stock raising and feed production. But for a lontgtime now only 40 percent of its capacities have been utilized; one-fourth of equipment requires replacement, and there has been almost no reduction in the volume of reject output. Despite all this, neither the leadership (Comrade Trifanchev) nor the party committee (Comrade Timofeyev) of the association has taken effective measures to correct the situation nor has shown any concern to accelerate the reconstruction and retooling of foundry production. Only 20 percent of the funds allocated to production construction were channeled in this direction last year. The association also lacks a clear-cut program for assimilating capacities in the current 5-year plan period. Though it is aware of this, the Tselinograd party obkom (Comrade Nurpeisov) tolerates the prevailing situation and for two 5-year plans now has failed to undertake decisive action to improve the enterprise's work.

Labor productivity fell throughout the last 5-year plan period in the "Ekibastuzugol" Association, the "Mangyshlakrybkholod" Administration, the Balkash walling material plant under the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Construction, and the Alma-Ata custom road equipment plant under the Ministry of Highways. This process of decline continued also in 1986.

Labor productivity is below the 1980 level at the Dzhetygara asbestos combine, the Guryev fish industry association, and the Shemonaikha construction and installation components plant under the Kazakh SSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry.

The labor productivity plan is not being fulfilled, and labor productivity is even being allowed to decline compared with previous levels at the Alma-Ata and Dzhezkazgan meat combines, the Alma-Ata machine tool building plant and bearing repair plant, the Dzhambul municipal machine building plant, and the Kokchetav stone-crushing plant under the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry.

During the first 11 months of last year the labor productivity plan was not fulfilled by industry in Adtyubinsk and Dzhezkazgan Oblasts and by 296 republican enterprises. The largest proportion of laggard enterprises is in Alma-Ata (27.5 percent), Dzhezkazgan (29.4 percent), Karaganda (27.5 percent), North Kazakhstan (25.9 percent), and Turgay (28.1 percent) Oblasts, and also within the systems of the Kazakh SSR's Ministry of Light Industry (23.3 percent), Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy (22.2 percent), Ministry of Local Industry (42.1 percent), and Ministry of Construction.

We must attach particular importance to questions concerning delivery discipline. The CPSU Central Committee's demand to ensure 100-percent fulfillment of contractual deliveries starting in the 2nd year of the 5-year plan period should make us fundamentally change our thinking on this issue. The Party Commission under the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and party commissions under all party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms must get involved in this work.

Objective exactingness, free from any departmental approach, on the part of party commissions should make it necessary for each enterprise, sector, and department leader to critically assess the state of affairs. Party commissions must have clear information and ideas as to which member of the team is not pulling his weight, so to speak. It is important to determine how contractual delivery indicators are to be calculated -- in terms of rubles or by the number of enterprises thwarting deliveries? Obviously, either alternative is acceptable. One thing is clear, however -- the republican Gosplan and Council of Ministers must get together with the appropriate union organs and must determine uniform criteria for evaluating the degree to which contracts for output deliveries are fulfilled.

Another point. We must also consult union organs, primarily the AUCCTU, the CPSU Central Committee Economic Section, and other central organs, to clarify which indicators are taken into account in all-union socialist competition at republican, oblast, city, and rayon levels, accurately highlight these indicators, and organize systematic work on ther fulfillment. And we must do this in order to fulfill not just one or two of them, but the entire package, including the parameters of economic and social development and those reflecting the moral and ethical climate on all issues and in all spheres. We must ensure that we all aim for the same target, that each territorial organ and each economic subdivision literally fights to secure all indicators in all spheres -- output growth rate, construction growth rate, commodity turnover plan fulfillment, quality of output produced, fulfillment of contractual deliveries, savings of material resources, reduction of work time losses, reduction of injuries, crime, alcohol consumption, and so on.

In this context, we are faced with the question of ensuring that the results of competition in economic and social development are regularly analyzed with the participation of top leaders of party committees and soviet organs and the appropriate sector secretaries and sections. The analysis of results must preclude formalism and must be subordinated to solving just one task: what is to be done next in order to ensure the fulfillment of all indicators taken into account in all-union socialist competition. In this context all the idle talk about what we have achieved, what unprecedented successes we have scored, and who has excelled profitably is not what must come to the fore. The main point is what is to be done next on the basis of an analysis of the errors and faults allowed to occur in our work. Does this mean that we should pay no attention to good points? No. We must notice the good points and must disseminate them by making them part of the work system.

In this context an urgent need is arising to seek experience of party work. Here it is necessary to literally embark on a hunt for advanced experience in other regions of our country and in other union republics.

The Central Committee Party Organizational Work Section, the republican Council of Ministers, and the party obkoms must determine measures for business ties with the corresponding obkoms in other union republics and organize competition between them and their mutual enrichment through exchanges of work experience.

The practice of borrowing from other people's experiences must become a norm of business ties. Here too the Central Committee apparatus and the obkom apparatuses must display keen initiative. If you hear of something good that your collective needs, then go see it and introduce it at home. It is necessary to abandon pompousness in holding all kinds of long seminars with reports and speeches and to subordinate everything to the cause, the cause of organization. We must bear in mind that, in the past, the practice of conducting studies was accompanied by pompousness and often acquired various aspects of a hospitality event involving entertainment and leisure.

The exchange of experience is now acquiring a completely different nature on a countrywide scale. The nature we have just talked about.

To Appreciably Improve Food Supplies for the Population [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Perm obkom noted that standards are low in the oblast's agro-industrial complex sectors, the organization of the introduction of intensive techniques in agriculture is unsatisfactory, and questions concerning the enhancement of soil fertility and stockraising productivity and the development of feed production are neglected. One-third of farms operate at a loss. Resolute measures are not taken to reduce state subsidies for meat and milk, or to improve food supplies for the population by utilizing existing potential. There are delays in creating the material base for the storage of potatoes and fruit and vegetable produce.

Explaining this idea of the CPSU Central Committee resolution, it should be noted that these shortcomings also take place in the republican party organization. In fact more than a year has passed since the Tselinograd conference held by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. This conference bluntly raised the question of significantly improving food supplies. It was clearly said that party obkoms are responsible for supplying the population with potatoes, vegetables, and fruit, and that food supplies in general can be much improved by better utilization of local resources. Today we must bluntly declare that the responsibility for improving food supplies in the republic lies with its top leaders -- the first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, and the corresponding leaders at oblast, city, and rayon level.

We must be clearly aware that to improve food supplies for the population means not just fulfilling the Food Program targets, in other words insuring deliveries of meat, milk, grain, and other agricultural output to the state in line with set procurement plans; it means something more. The population must be supplied with food products in the necessary volume and variety.

At the same time, the improvement of local food supplies must ensure the solution of many other questions. For example, what is necessary is not to just grow potatoes and vegetables and deliver them to the state, but also to have capacities for their storage and the appropriate material base to sell them to the people all year round. It should be emphasized in this context that last year was wasted regarding the solution of these tasks. It has, moreover, come to light that these tasks were not even properly formulated or studied; immediate measures are now required.

The pernicious habit of dragging the solution of urgent problems out over 5 or 10 years has become rooted in practical work. We plan measures covering a 5-year period, then we spend the first 2 years waiting without doing anything, and after that we forget, make allowances for omissions, and forgive ourselves. This is precisely what must not be allowed as reegards vegetable, potato, and fruit supplies. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, set the task of solving this problem within 2 years. One of these 2 years has been wasted, and now all these matters must be speeded up. The republican Council of Ministers must study these questions in depth and with the utmost responsibility and must submit proposals for the speedy construction of potato and vegetable storage facilities, refrigerated warehouses, and greenhouses.

The republican party and soviet organs and their local subdivisions must make full use of the rights granted to them and must unconditionally meet all the demands that will be made in this important sector. The construction and reconstruction of the produce storage base is a common concern. Some must help with finance, others with construction work and material resources, and so on.

The solution of the task must be begun immediately to ensure noticeable changes by the start of this year's season and to sharply increase the laying in of food, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit. The lack of these capacities resulted in great losses of the 1986 harvest of fruits, and of apples in particular.

Last year the republic's southern oblasts grew a rich harvest of vegetables, fruits, and grapes. However, part of it was not gathered as a result of sluggishness and irresponsibility on the party of agro-industrial committees and trade and procurement organs in Alma-Ata, Dzhambul, and Chimkent Oblasts. Much fruit and vegetable produce perished on the population's personal plots and in orchard and truck garden associations. The Kazakh SSR Potrebsoyuz (Comrade Sarsenov) did not display proper efficiency in this situation, and the processing industry proved unprepared to handle the harvest.

Within a short time we must eliminate the problem of dairy produce supplies for the population. Primarily for residents of the republic's capital and also of all oblast centers, cities, and rayons. This task must be solved by boosting the public sector herd's productivity and also by increasing milk purchases from personal subsidiary plots. At the same time it is necessary to make broad use of milk substitutes for fattening young animals.

Great concern must be shown everywhere for supplying feed and setting up summer camps for livestock maintained on personal subsidiary plots. This talks must be solved by kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders, and the tone must be set by party raykoms and primary party organizations.

The solution of the meat problem must also be approached specifically. Of course, it is a question of increasing weight gains by cattle, pigs, and other animals on public sector farms, creating a reliable feed base, and making every possible use of the potential of personal subsidiary plots. We must begin right now, without delay, examining the problem of contract fattening of livestock by kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers in their yards. When they have handed over part of the cattle and pig herd for fattening by the population, kolkhozes and sovkhozes must ensure they are adequately supplied with coarse and succulent feed and are provided with 30-40 percent of the fodder allocated on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, bearing in mind we issue up to 1 million metric tons of grain to the population each year by way of payment in kind. This work must not be allowed to drift. It must be headed by local party and soviet organs, and personal responsibility must be borne by the top personnel -- sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen. They must have direct contacts with their workers. [paragraph continues]

The advantage of this solution to the problem is beyond all doubt: There will be no need for additional new premises to keep livestock, they will be found in the yards of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. Nor will there be any need for additional personnel. Actual practice shows that weight gains in individual farming are 1.5-2 times higher than in the public sector. This is understandable. Only a small number of animals are kept in the yard and more attention is paid to keeping them.

Moreover, such an approach will arouse greater demands for the development of personal subsidiary plots and people's desire to keep their own cow or to have their own piglets or poultry. In this context concern must be shown in line with the CPSU Central Committee demand that the population's requirements for young poultry and piglets be fully satisfied already this year.

We must carefully examine potential for increasing meat production, since all the meat produced over and above what is delivered to union stocks should be used for local consumption. There are numerous sources to ensure this: comprehensive development of sheep and horse breeding, and also the boosting of meat resources using wild animals. Naturally, game procurement must be conducted within the limits of permissible norms without damaging the fauna. We must set the task of ensuring that each rural school breed rabbits for local supplies. In short, there are many ways to solve the meat problem, and time is pressing for its implementation. We must do everything to ensure this is achieved everywhere within the shortest possible time.

To Sharply Boost the Pace of Housing Construction and Development of the Social Sphere [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee resolution notes that the Perm party obkom and the oblispolkom are poorly solving social questions. The social sphere is developing impermissibly slowly and is tangibly lagging behind the development of production. Targets concerning the construction of housing, schools, children's preschool institutions, hospitals, and polyclinics are not being met. The funds appropriated for these purposes are not being assimilated. Numerous clubs, houses of culture, libraries, and sports facilities are in a state of neglect.

It must be said that there is food for thought here also for us leaders of the republican party organization and its apparatus. As you know, for several 5-year plans now we have been saying that the republic builds more than 30 million square meters of housing and that one-fifth of the population acquires new apartments during each 5-year plan period. Many 5-year plans have passed, but the problem of providing housing for working people has not been eliminated; moreover, it has deteriorated in the extreme.

Today many residents of Alma-Ata, oblast centers, and other cities and villages are keenly aware of the shortcomings in solving the housing problem. We must energetically join in the quest for the best possible ways to solve this task. Particular emphasis must be placed on the all-around development and expansion of housing construction by the own-resources and other methods. Party organs must in the immediate future instruct the leaders of each enterprise, each organization, each soviet organ to investigate: How should the task of satisfying those waiting to be housed be solved within 5 years? What must be done? What must be done is this: The enterprise leader, having determined a program of measures and sources of finance and material supplies, must recruit labor resources from among those waiting to be housed.

Having determined a program, the leader must assemble everyone waiting to be housed and report on his plans to them. [paragraph continues]

And if some leaders do not know how to solve these problems, the enterprise collectives are obviously justified in expressing a lack of confidence in them. Collectives can be led only by those who are capable of solving not only production questions but also social questions. This work must be done in January and the first half of February this year. What we are saying is that people waiting to be housed could play an active part in finishing and other work, for which they should undergo an appropriate training course. Construction workers are capable of building large numbers of basic structures. Matters must be organized so that people from among those waiting to be housed are formed into finishing teams. They can be released from basic production, and their work comrades can make up for their absence by more intensive labor. It may turn out that construction workers cannot supply everyone with walling materials or build basic housing structures using their own capacities; other reserves must then be set in motion. It is necessary to comprehensively develop modular housing construction [monolitnoye domostroyeniye], which requires minimum time for fitting out. All that is necessary is to manufacture fitments for multistory apartment blocks, obtain the appropriate machinery, and train people to work using the own-resources method as subcontractors of construction organizations in order to ensure compliance with technological standards and the competent carrying out of construction work.

Practice shows that the pace of housing construction is faster in regions where this method of housebuilding has been adopted. As a rule, it only takes a week to lay each floor.

The own-resources method must be developed in every organization, including consumer cooperatives, state trade, and the services sphere. After all, they all apply this method in varying degrees and construct production projects from bricks, large blocks, and other construction materials. So they can build. So they must also solve the housing problem. This is the viewpoint from which we will examine in the future all questions concerning the solution to this task.

Local soviet and party organs must examine ways to reduce the waiting lists for housing at gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms. There are different ways to do this: Create a separate list for workers at trade, consumer service, and other subordinate organizations who will actively adopt the own-resources method. Or transfer physicians and teachers on the waiting list to base enterprises, which must, without any exception, build their own housing. There must be no enterprise or organization which does not join in solving the housing problem.

A particular role must be played here by trade union committees; they must approach most keenly the solution of all social problems.

There can be only one approach toward solving the housing problem in rural areas and providing amenities for the housing of rural residents. It is necessary to speed up processes in eliminating differences between city and countryside. This task will, of course, be solved, but we must effect revolutionary transformations in the provision of amenities in the countryside. We must have heated houses with running water in rural areas. This means it is necessary to build boilerhouses, sewer systems, and purification installations. The question concerning heat, water, and gas supplies for housing already built must be solved at the same time.

We have quite good prospects regarding supplying the agro-industrial complex with all the needed labor resources.

After all, today's urban resident, living in well-appointed housing nonetheless always wants to acquire a small plot of land in a collective orchard and truck gardening section, a plot that must somehow be developed, in other words, he is willing to incur additional material expenditure.

If we organize the construction of well-appointed cottages with outbuildings and a subsidiary plot which offers an opportunity to engage in personal subsidiary farming or raise domestic animals and poultry, why should the city dweller not take up permanent residence in the countryside? These processes began long ago in several regions, and they must be developed also in our republic. We must set the task of ensuring that every kolkhoz and sovkhoz build at least 20 apartments and well-appointed cottages this year alone, and rural housing construction must proceed at the same annual pace through the end of the 5-year plan.

The appropriate Central Committee sections must also find their place in resolving all these tasks and act as generators of ideas concerning the development of health services, children's preschool institutions, and others.

The problem of educating children from the age of 6 must be singled out as a particular question. Where should their education begin -- in the kindergarten or at school? The answer to this question must be formulated in the very near future.

Restructuring Begins with Each and Every One. Ability to Work in the New Fashion [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee seriously criticized the Perm obkom for the serious shortcomings in the development of the economy and the social sphere, primarily because no substantial changes are occurring in the work style of the party committee and its bureau and because old-fashioned methods and approaches still persist.

The activity of the oblast's party committees and organizations is still inadequately oriented toward people and topical issues. The established custom of avoiding thorny issues and resting satisfied with mediocre results is taking its toll.

The demands to enhance the responsibility and businesslike efficiency of cadres made by the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum are often replaced by mere declarations and appeals; there is still a mania for sessions and conferences, and there is no effective monitoring of the implementation of party decisions and the obkom's own resolutions.

In this context questions of the deeper analysis of the activity of party organizations and the improvement of the style and methods of their work become increasingly topical. We must organize matters so as to ensure no conferences or sessions are convened by subdivisions of the Communist Party Central Committee or republican organs, obkoms, gorkoms, or raykoms on weekdays like Mondays, Wednesdays, or Fridays. Sessions of the Central Committee Secretariat and Bureau should be held on the first and third Tuesdays of each month. Secretariat sessions in the morning, bureau sessions in the afternoon. It is expedient to hold sessions of the Council of Ministers Presidium on every second and fourth Tuesday. Thursdays are to be used for sittings of organizational councils for technical progress and work with cadres. Cadre training, aktiv meetings, plenums, and other organizational and political events are to be held only on Saturdays. These work procedures must be established everywhere.

It is necessary to fundamentally improve work with party documents and decisions. [paragraph continues]

The resolution party of party organs' decisions must be specific and clearly formulated; each point must be aimed at achieving a set task instead of being a collection of words like "enhance," "raise," "improve," "step up," "expand," "resolutely stamp out," and other emotional appeals.

Each point of a resolution must envisage practical systematic work guaranteeing that the necessary result will be obtained. Any measure must be thought out long before a question is submitted for discussion and must have been tested in practice. We must be convinced that if you do what the resolution part of a decision says, you will secure a fundamental breakthrough concerning the problem under discussion. If there is nothing to carry out, or if nothing changes when the decision's demands have been met, this means that the question has not been studied. Discussion will not help the cause, but, on the contrary, will only waste time on its preparation and discussion.

Preparations for party committee plenums must be carried out according to the following principles:

-- the choice of question is determined not by the fact that this question has been discussed by some other party committee, not by a desire to be "fashionable," but by a genuine need to "unblock" the greatest bottleneck in the republic, oblast, city, or rayon;

-- the start of a party committee plenum's work is the moment a question is chosen for discussion. Party committee members must have an outline of preparations for the problem's solution and, within the framework of their own official duties and practical potential, should verify practically the effectiveness of the measures chosen to solve the task. The discussion of the question at the plenum is a logical continuation of the work started at the local level, indicating what did and what did not prove suitable for comprehensive adoption in the process of preparations and what avenues and what approaches should not be followed. In short, a resolution must contain demands which solve the set task in each specific field and specifi time limits must be set for achieving the planned end result.

We must be well aware that we must tackle the solution of the most urgent questions, whose implementation is of interest to all working people in our republic. These are, primarily:

-- the solution of the housing problem;
-- the solution of food supplies;
-- the provision of land plots for those wishing to become members of collective horticultural associations;
-- the development of all types of paid services in every way;
-- the utilization of opportunities to develop citizens' individual activity in line with our country's legislation;
-- the enhancement of standards of economic activity in every possible way.

The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress set the task of imposing order with regard to everything and strengthening discipline. This means that we must step up individual work with leadership staff and cadres in mass trades. It is necessary that everyone in his place appreciably step on the "gas" at work and be clearly aware that more fruitful use of worktime is necessary. As for people whose workdays are open-ended, improving results and stepping on the "gas" at work means that it is necessary to "eat into" thier own free time for the sake of the common good and the common cause.

We must bear in mind that the large-scale tasks facing us also demand an expansion of the scope of our thinking. [paragraph continues]

This is impossible to achieve unless the leader constantly enriches his outlook and acquires fresh knowledge. Therefore a leader's free time must be devoted to painstaking study, expansion of his political and professional horizons and skills gained through educational work in the collective and the quest for the most effective ways to solve problems.

Restructuring presupposes strenuous labor and devotion to the cause of the party and the state; this is what must come first, while personal questions take second place.

In this context, the question arises of the need to institute a procedure whereby each primary party organization makes broad use of reports by Communists on the performance of their party and state duties, and to organize matters so that by the time of the 17th Kazakh Communist Party Congress each Communist has reported to his primary party organization and only one Communist reports at each party meeting to avoid a rushed campaign and ensure a much better evaluation of Communists' activity.

If a party organization will be unable to ensure that a report is heard from every Communist over this 4-year period, then broader use must be made of the hearing of reports in party groups. However, matters must be organized in such a way as to ensure that Communists report to their party comrades steadily throughout the year. To this end, small commissions consisting of 3-4 members must be set up to analyze a Communist's activity. They must take into consideration his behavior in daily life and in production, his attitude toward his wife and the raising of his children, his performance of party duties, and other matters. The commission must prepare a draft party performance appraisal report [proyekt partiynoy kharakteristiki] on the Communist. The report procedure must be as follows: Following the Communist's report on his party and production activity, the performance appraisal report is read at the party meeting and discussed by all Communists. An important question arises here: Can Communists from a primary party organization punish or even expel people from the party during a report session. Practice shows that we punish many Communists at, so to speak, "citizens' request," when a Communist's wife or neighbors have complained of his improper behavior. Once such reports have been confirmed, we can either punish the culprit or expel him from the party.

However, at the same time, we often seem to not notice that a Communist is behaving incorrectly and his party comrades distance themselves from his shortcomings until such time as they receive a report from outside, so to speak. This practice is flawed.

So if a party reprimand can be imposed or people can be expelled from the party at "citizens' request," then why should Communists be unable to do this on the recommendation of the commission which has prepared a report on the Communist to the party meeting?

We must organize matters so as to ensure that each party member is primarily a genuine Communist devoted to the party's ideas, loyally serves the people, shows concern for man, and enhances the party's prestige by all possible means. And if he does not uphold this prestige but undermines it, this means that he is working against the party. If a Communist does something that the party is fighting against, he cannot remain within its ranks. It is this approach and these strict demands that must be affirmed in all party organizations. The solution of this task must be assigned to primary party organizations, and the start of work must be rigorously monitored by party raykoms and gorkoms. Naturally, the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee apparatus must be the initiator and inspirer of all this work.

We must organize matters so as to ensure that every leader in the nomenklatura of a party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, or economic organ is accountable both within the framework of his party and economic actions and beyond them. It is therefore necessary to institute a practice whereby the appraisal report on each worker on the nomenklatura of a party of other organ is periodically reviewed. This must be done regularly, at intervals of not more than 2 years, since serious changes for the better or the worse can occur in a leader's life and behavior. Everything must be reflected in a party appraisal report containing both the positive and strong points which must be further developed and the existing shortcomings which hamper the cause and the prestige of the party and the organ which this person leads. During the review procedure, the party appraisal report of Central Committee nomenklatura workers must be prepared by the Central Committee sectorial section, reviewed by the section and the sectorial secretary, and then submitted to the Secretariat or Bureau, which decide on confirming the appraisal, noting that the leader was present at the discussion, that he agrees with the remarks, and that the appraisal report should be sent to the organs on whose nomenklatura he is -- the CPSU Central Committee or a union ministry.

Each leader must be accountable for his activity to his superior organ while at the same time being accountable to the collective which he leads. The collective must know what errors are committed by its leader and what the collective loses as a result of shortcomings in its chief's work. The leader must report to people rather than tick them off. To this end, we should institute a practice whereby leaders report to their subordinates at least once every 3 months and must admit openly their shortcomings both in production affairs and in personal behavior, including the behavior of members of their family. In the event of excessive "modesty" in these matters, the enterprise's party organization secretary or trade union committee chairman must expose the shortcomings which leaders have tried to conceal or play down.

We must organize matters so as to ensure that every leader in the nomenklatura of relevant party, soviet, and other organs is responsible for the behavior of members of his family. Particular importance in this context must be attached to the struggle against protectionism. Family members must not enjoy any greater benefits because of the position occupied by the head of the family. We must stamp out all kinds of telephone calls or transparent hints from any leader regarding members of his family or people close to him, signifing nothing but veiled protectionism and a readiness to reciprocate by doing a favor in return to the extent that his official position allows. We must resolutely eradicate the principle "You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours." This is not the party approach; it compromises the party and the leading organs of all other subdivision.

We must take serious measures to define the strict personal responsiblity borne by everyone joining a collegial organ.

Members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Central Committee members, and ministry and department leaders cannot claim credit for other people's successes and achievements unless they have made their own personal contribution to solving successfully the particular task. To this end, we must hold closed sessions of Central Committee, obkom, gorkom, and raykom bureaus which must accurately define the tasks of each bureau member taking into consideration their strong points and personal qualities and setting them a time limit to eliminate personal shortcomings. We must take full advantage of the right to levy demands on everyone -- members of the Communist Party Central Committee, obkom and gorkom members, and everyone working on elected soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs. [paragraph continues]

We must teach what leading production workers, enterprise directors, and party or soviet leaders must do in view of their official and other duties. For this purpose, it is necessary to prepare and conduct seminars to explain everyone's tasks and responsibility for the state of affairs in the section of work entrusted to them, so they can subsequently be held accountable for the results of their activity.

Everyone must carry a great social workload and feel personally responsible for his high social standing. We must abandon stage management of party and other events and the reading of speeches that are sometimes written by persons other than the speaker. We must move on to frank discussions, whether on the basis of notes [tezisy] or without them, including discussions at Central Committee plenums. Everyone must be able to voice his ideas freely.

And one more point about flawed practices in party work: An unpleasant phenomenon unworthy of man has long existed whereby as individual party and other leaders are promoted to higher positions, they gradually get used to these high positions and can no longer differentiate between a simply businesslike, respectful attitude and obsequious servile subservience and toadying. A leader like this becomes a kind of a home-grown lordling and gets accustomed not to work but to "lord it over" people. He gets accustomed to it to such an extent that he ceases to set out his own thoughts and write his own reports and speeches, assigns this work to someone else, and only tailors the report or speech according to the time available without revealing or indicating his own approach, ideas, or personal stance. Who writes and strings together the "lordling's" ideas for people at large to formulate tasks? A speechwriter? An aide? Or someone else? If this speechwriter puts forward sensible ideas and thoughts and accurately formulates the tasks, maybe he should be appointed leader, subject to a preliminary check whether he possesses organizational abilities and can implement the thoughts he has outlined.

Today we must be clearly aware that to know something and to know how to act are not the same thing. Many people today know a great deal; they know of shortcomings and criticize them, but do not know how to correct them. We must speak out on questions of criticism of shortcomings, and this is obviously a separate important topic of discussion -- discussion on the standards of criticism. And this must be understood as follows: If you have said already how things should not be done, then you must say how they should be done. Moreover, some worker must not only say what must be done but also organize matters to secure sharp changes for the better. This is the essence of party work and party approaches.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Perm obkom notes that the oblast party organs limit themselves largely to work with leading personnel and the narrow circle of aktiv members, without reaching the grassroots party links, rank-and-file Communists, and the mass of nonparty people.

What can be said in this connection? These defects are equally prevalent in our republic. To eliminate them, every party, soviet, and other leader must visit enterprises, organizations, and people's places of residence. This does not mean that, having left 3 free days -- Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays -- we must use them to "take a breather," so to speak, relax away from conferences and sessions, or go to an enterprise, kolkhoz, or sovkhoz for a breath of fresh air. No. The task in going our to the local level is to determine whether a given positive or negative phenomenon is specific to the unit in question or is common to a number of enterprises of farms and what must be done to disseminate the positive more swiftly and to stamp out the negative resolutely not only there but also everywhere else. Matters must be organized in such a way that a party leader visiting an enterprise has the opportunity to meet and talk with people not across an awe-inspiring presidium table. [paragraph continues]

It is much better if the meeting takes place, so to speak, at the same level, and maybe the table itself should be moved down, closer to people. And the Presidium should consist of the chairman and secretary so that people feel more at ease and hear someone not delivering a set speech but speaking from the heart.

It is necessary to be able to listen to people, including those who have character defects and may have thoroughly annoyed others. Even these speeches may contain grains of sense. We must remember that all people -- those with good and those with not so good characters -- are our people, that all people, with all their different social qualities, are our Soviet people. We have to live and work with them, we must educate them and learn from them. We must not forget that people trust us and forgive us a great deal. This is why we must comprehend all our responsibility to people. For example, when receiving citizens to hear their applications and complaints, we must visit more often visit people's apartments concerning individual requests and complaints to gain knowledge of the caller's living conditions and to be in a better position to understand the essence of his appeal.

Of course, all questions cannot be resolved at once, especially with regard to the improvement of housing conditions. However, we must display a kind of inventiveness, enterprising attitude, and boldness in the quest for ways to ensure that people feel that others are concerned for them and spare neither their time nor themselves for this purpose. This is how every party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and other leaders' work and attitude toward it must be organized.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Perm obkom pays particular attention to questions concerning the struggle against drunkenness. It is noted that this work is being carried out unsystematically, on a small scale, and without the broad participation of labor collectives. There has been no decline in moonshining, and instances of drug addiction are not being stamped out. Energetic measures have not been taken to step up the struggle against violators of labor discipline and public order or against unearned income. We must lay down certain principles and elaborate a firm position on questions concerning the organization of the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug addiction. We must aim primarily at steadily reducing wine consumption. This must become a steady trend. We must use for this purpose avenues like expanding the sobriety period, in other words, gradually reducing the number of days in the week when wine and vodka products are on sale and developing sobriety zones, especially in rural areas, precluding formalism and ensuring proper results in this work. We must clearly define what is meant by the term public place.

Bearing in mind that our country has a current law prohibiting drunkenness in public places and that appropriate administrative sanctions are applied to violators if this law is broken, we must introduce clarity in this matter. Clearly, people in any stage of drunkenness cannot appear on public transport, on the streets, or in squares, parks, movie theaters, theaters, public gardens, and collective garages. In this regard we must give some thought to whether people can be in restaurants in a state of drunkenness. Is it necessary to sell alcoholic beverages in restaurants? After all, a restaurant is also a public place. Clearly, someone who has become drunk in a restaurant cannot remain there until he is completely sober and will, sooner or later, be forced to leave and go out into the street. How is he to be treated then? It is evidently necessary, having enlisted the support of public opinion, to examine the question of the expediency of selling wine and vodka products in restaurants. We must study and jointly ensure a solution of this question.

As wine consumption declines it is necessary to make up for the money lost in commodity turnover as a result of the decline in spending on alcohol. [paragraph continues]

It is necessary to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the cash flow plan by comprehensively developing decentralized purchases and redistributing commodities within the framework of our country's various regions. Why make a secret of it? Today the machinery for commodity distribution is "hit and miss" and depot-centered. As a result, some regions accumulate large volumes of unmarketable goods, which are frequently items in great demand elsewhere. So active work must be launched under the leadership and with the direct involvement of the republican Council of Ministers and the oblispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms on decentralized purchases of foodstuffs and industrial goods.

It must be said that we also have work to do in developing various paid services to the population. We must constantly foster people's sensible demands and encourage primarily those on which people today are willing to spend money freely, such as, collective horticulture and truck gardening. To this end it is necessary to organize the production of summerhouses, the sale of organic fertilizers, the construction of water supply networks and roads, and the provision of other paid services to the population. People spend freely to set up their apartments, improve their fittings and furniture, building garages, and so on.

At the same time, other demands must be encouraged. For example, the interest shown in concerts, shows, theatrical productions, physical culture and sports, and other mass events is still inadequate.

We must not allow a shortage of wine and vodka products to develop, but we must ensure that there are no mass waiting lines for them. This must be ensured not by expanding the trade network but by educating people in primary organizations and collectives to reduce the demand for liquor. To this end it is necessary to organize properly the work of city and rayon soviet commissions to combat drunkeness, and they should invite all people punished for breaches of sobriety norms to attend gatherings together with adult members of their families to hear the relevant complaints. Each collective must ensure that every case of a breach of sobriety norms, be it a stay in a drunk tank, a fine, and so on, is publicly discussed and condemned by the collective. The violator must be held responsible for his behavior and lose opportunities to enjoy certain benefits and privileges, even including a demotion at work.

The point is that people abusing alcholic beverages should lose the right to perform the role of leader at any level. Strict exactingness and firm adherence to sobriety must be the norm of behavior for each public organization and its members.

The solution of all the aforementioned tasks depends to a determining and decisive extent on the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, its secretaries, its section chiefs, and each senior official. Therefore, there is a pressing need for certification of apparatus personnel, during which it should be established whether all of them are genuine generators of ideas for restructuring, whether they are sufficiently devoted to the party cause, and whether they show sufficient promise for further promotion and growth. The task is to determine measures to enhance the fruitfulness of work by the republican Communist Party Central Committee apparatus and all other party subdivisions. After all, it is the Central Committee apparatus that determines the best ways for restructuring envisaged by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress.

FURTHER ON KOLBIN REMARKS ON ERRORS IN EDUCATION

PM230917 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 87 p 1

[KAZTAG report: "Asserting Fairness in Assessments of People"]

[Text] On 7 January G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, met with rectors and party committee secretaries of Alma-Ata city VUZ's. Attention was centered on questions of fundamentally restructuring work on the communist and international education of students and on raising the ideological and political standards of future specialists.

It was pointed out that in recent years the education of young people in many VUZ's in the republic's capital has been conducted in a formal and superficial manner, and a wholesale approach has predominated in it to the detriment of individual work with people. The moral and international education of young men and women has been seriously harmed by protectionism, bribery, and home town favoritism in admission to VUZ's and by a lack of proper regulation of the students' national composition.

Despite repeated demands from party organs, the leaders of the Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and VUZ rectorates have taken an extremely irresponsible attitude to the training and retraining of scientific and teaching cadres. People who have previously compromised themselves and who are unworthy of the lofty title of Soviet pedagogue have been admitted to work with young people. Teachers have frequently given students professional knowledge alone and not been concerned about their moral education or about raising the standard of inter-nation contact.

Communist education councils headed by nonstaff prorectors have frequently confined their activity to preparing information and favorable reports about particular measures and have not coped with the important social functions entrusted to them. At the same time, the leadership and party committee secretaries of VUZ's have frequently abandoned responsibility for the state of the educational process and its results. Many violations of the norms of socialist communal life and misdemeanors committed by students have not received a proper assessment from teaching staff and party and Komsomol organizations.

G.V. Kolbin and others who spoke at the meeting emphasized that gross miscalculations in the organization of the teaching and educational process and mistakes in cadre policy have had an adverse effect on world-outlook sentiments among students and were one of the causes of the illegal, hooligan actions that took place among a certain section of young people.

The competent organs are currently bringing to light the instigators of the disturbances, and VUZ party and Komsomol organizations are examining the responsibility of the persons involved in them. This work must be accelerated in order to hold the upcoming examination session in an organised manner and in a normal situation. The maximum attention and objectivity must be displayed in assessments of the degree of each person's guilt. There cannot be the least slipup where people's destinies are concerned. Therefore what is needed here is the utmost caution and balance in decisions, and unjust punishments cannot be allowed.

It was pointed out at the meeting that it is equally important for party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations to devote the maximum attention to the future of those who have received deserved punishment. It is a question, in particular, of students expelled from educational institutions for illegal actions. [paragraph continues]

All possible assistance must be given in finding employment for these people, their reeducation in labor collectives must be carefully monitored, and they must be helped to regain their lost moral and civic positions.

The leadership and party organizations of the republic Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and of Alma-Ata VUZ's must put an end as quickly as possible to the negative manifestations noted and fundamentally improve educational work in order to ensure that not only specialists with profound knowledge of their subject but also full, active members of our Soviet society armed with the mighty strength of socialist ideology emerge from the walls of institutes.

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committe has drawn up a comprehensive plan to strengthen the international and patriotic education of working people, students and pupils, the creative intelligentsia, and the republic's entire population. It is the task of the party organizations and the entire professorial and teaching staff of VUZ's to ensure systematic, purposeful work on implementing the planned measures.

Participating in the meeting were Z.K. Kamalidenov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; M.S. Mendybayev, first secretary of Alma-Ata Party Obkom; and Ye.M. Asanbayev, chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Science and Educational Instutitions Section.

GUKASOV, KOLBIN SPEAK AT KAZAKH PLENUM

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[KAZTAG report: "On the Work of the Republic's Agro-industrial Complex To Increase the Production of Livestock Products and Improve Supplies to the Population in the Light of the CPSU Central Committee Resolution on the Kazakh SSR"]

[Text] E.K. Gukasov, first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic State Agro-industrial Committee [Gosagroprom], who delivered a report at the Sixth Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, stressed that this year will go down in our country's history as the year of the 70th anniversary of th Great October Socialist Revolution, the year when restructuring in all areas of life began to take possession of the masses and the new approaches and criteria voiced at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum became the norm in evaluating all questions of socioeconomic development.

One of the most important of these questions is that of improving the supply of food products to the population. Chief among the system of measures being adopted to achieve this goal is the acclerated increase in production of livestock products.

The well known CPSU Central Committe resolution on the state of affairs in livestock raising in the republic, adopted on 19 August last year, severely criticized the activity of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers for unsatisfactory management of the sector and for the existence of stagnation phenomena in the sector.

Last year milk yields and livestock weight gains increased, plans for livestock births were fulfilled, and the republic met the plans for purchases of livestock products. However, what was achieved does not mean that there are fewer problems in the sector. [paragraph continues]

On the contrary, the problems have become even more acute, and today we can see more clearly than a year ago our problems and shortcomings in livestock raising. The demands made by the CPSU Central Committee on Voronezh Oblast Party Organization on this question can today be applied fully to ourselves. The same blunders, the same shortcomings. This year we can and must build on the positive beginnings which have recently begun to take shape.

In 1986 the volume of livestock products produced in the republic, compared with the annual average production in the 11th 5-Year Plan, increased by 11 percent for meat, carcass weight, 7 percent for milk, and 12 percent for eggs. On all categories of farms, 1,286,000 metric tons of meat, carcass weight, 4,955,000 metric tons of milk, more than 4 billion eggs, and 105,700 metric tons of wool, actual weight, were produced.

At the same time the sector lagged considerably behind actual requirements for the supply of these products to the population, and the working people rightly complain about this. This situation became established long ago, and we will not be able to rectify it unless we improve the general standard of livestock raising in the republic.

There are great reserves here. Judge for yourselves. Last year, of the total quantity of livestock sold to the state, only 63 percent was in top nutritional condition, and only 31 persent of sheep. Great losses result from the sale of nongraded or substandard products. In 9 months of last year alone, 15 percent of cattle and 31 percent of sheep dispatched to the state were in below average or poor nutritional condition. Many cattle in low nutritional condition continue to arrive from farms in Karaganda, Pavlodar, Dzhezkazgan, and Aktyubinsk Oblasts, and sheep from the farms of North Kazakhstan, Tselinograd, Karaganda, and Kokchetav Oblasts. Only six oblasts managed to supply cattle with an average live weight of more than 400 kg, while the farms of Guryev, Kzyl-Orda, and Chimkent Oblasts supplied sheep at a weight of only 36 kg.

About one-half of the milk supplied is below standard on the farms of North Kazakhstan, Kustanay, and Dzhezkazgan Oblasts.

Last year, on average, for every 100 dams 76 calves were obtained, 93 lambs, 70 foals, and 2,550 piglets, while the milk yield per forage cow was 2,170 kg. The average daily weight gain for cattle undergoing fattening was 410 grams, and for hogs it was 343 grams, while 2.6 kg of wool was obtained per sheep. Very little meat or milk was produced by intensive techniques. On many farms and in many rayons and oblasts livestock productivity indicators are significantly lower than republican averages.

Thus the farms of Kzyl-Orda, Guryev, Dzhezkazgan, and Aktyubinsk Oblasts, when fattening up cattle, obtain an average daily weight gain of only 340 grams, while in Turgay Oblast they obtain only 240 grams in hogs. Less than 2,000 kg of milk per cow was obtained by the farms of Kzyl-Orda, Guryev, and Aktyubinsk Oblasts, while the farms of Dzhezhazgan, Turgay, and Guryev Oblasts obtained less than 2 kg of wool per sheep.

The farms of Guryev and Dzhezkazgan Oblasts obtained 50-60 calves per 100 dams. Fewer than 90 lambs were obtained in Turgay, East Kazakhstan, Karaganda, Dzhezkazgan, and Tselinograd Oblasts. Their farms are to blame for the fact that reserves for the production of livestock products in subsequent years too are undermined.

Livestock raising suffers great damage from fatal epidemics and rustling of livestock. The overexpenditure of meat for the farm's own needs continues. Because of this, all oblasts make a loss from the production of livestock products. The prime cost per quintal of weight gain in cattle is expected to be R40 above plan, while the figure for hogs is R90 and for sheep R40.

At the same time, the speaker said, calculations show that given correct organization of production, the introduction of leading intensive methods, selection and breeding work, and the use of health improvement measures, the fulfillment of the "Livestock Raising" program could be ensured with the existing livestock population. After all, for every standard head of livestock, 19.2 quintals of feed units were laid in, as against 17.7 quintals in 1985. As of 1 January, in the public sector there are 11.7 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock, counting all types of feed (except grain forage), or 1.2 quintals more than last year. However, overwintering conditions are difficult on the farms of a number of oblasts which suffered from drought. In Chimkent Oblast the availability of stall feed for livestock is only 60 percent, in Mangyshlak Oblast it is 68 percent, and in Aktyubinsk Oblast 73 percent. The availability of pasture feed for sheep is extremely low in Guryev, Mangyshlak, Kzyl-Orda, and Chimkent Oblasts. As a consequence of these and other shortcomings in the overwintering of livestock, more sheep have died than last year in Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Dzhambul, and Chimkent Oblasts.

Because of the unavailability of coarse feed on the farms of Kzyl-Orda, Guryev, Mangyshlak, and Chimkent Oblasts, by government order they were granted the necessary assistance back at the beginning of the winter period, in the form of coarse and succulent feed from other oblasts. But feed deliveries are taking place unsatisfactorily, and this is mainly the suppliers' fault. In all, since July 90,000 metric tons of hay and 12,000 metric tons of straw have been dispatched, against targets of 235,000 metric tons and 80,000 metric tons respectively. The leaders of Kokchetav and Pavlodar Oblasts are called upon to ensure the necessary help for the southerners in organizing the dispatch of the stipulated quantity of hay no later than the end of January.

To provide cultural and consumer services to livestock unit workers in the winter period, the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have organized 6,300 recreation and study rooms, some 200 recreation and study tents, more than 450 trade centers, and 3,253 medical centers. In addition, for services to livestock pasturing workers, each oblast has a truck train with mobile stores and consumer service specialists. However, on many farms in Uralsk, Karaganda, Pavlodar, and other oblasts cultural and consumer services to the stockmen to not receive sufficient attention.

In order to improve markedly the supply of food products to the population, the speaker went on, workers in the agro-industrial complex are required this year to increase the production of livestock and poultry, carcass weight, to 1.36 million metric tons, and that of milk to 5.16 million metric tons. In the light of the consumer cooperative system's targets for increasing meat purchases from the population at agreed prices, the market stock could be increased by 96,000 tons, or 17 percent, compared with last year. Of course, the task set is highly intensive, but if the substantial reserves available to us today are backed up by the necessary organizational work, it will be fulfilled. It is necessary to go over widely to the system of handing over the fattening of cattle and hogs to the rural population on the family contract principle. In regions where this method has been used, good results have been obtained. The targets set for increasing sales of young pigs and poultry to the population must be regarded as a minimum. We have many other reserves too.

At the same time we must think not only about this year, but about the next 2 years, when meat and milk production must be brought up to the levels set by the Food Program as a minimum. To this end it is necessary first and foremost to increase the responsibility of cadres at all levels for the fulfillment of the "Feed and Protein" program. It is necessary to accelerate the intensification of feed production. In all arable zones it is necessary greatly to extend sowings of peas and chick peas and to carry out improvement and renewal of old, sparse areas of grasses. Every farm should allocate at least one crop rotation field, or 300-400 hectares, to pulse crops.

Dzhambul and Chimkent Party Obkoms and Oblispolkoms should change their attitude to increasing soybean production, and Alma-Ata Party Obkom and oblispolkom should change its attitude to corn for grain. Areas sown with alfalfa, esparto, and sweetclover are increasing too slowly on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

More attention should be devoted to feed preparation. There are on the farms more than 3,000 feed shops and feed kitchens and 159 fermentation and malting shops. During the current winter period it was planned to process more than half of all types of feed allocated for overwintering before feeding them to the livestock. By 26 December only one-tenth had been processed since the start of overwintering, while some 40 percent had already been fed to the livestock. This indicates that little more than half the planned quantity is being presented to the livestock in processed form.

On the sovkhozes and kolkhozes there are 146 mixed feed plants and shops, but they are used extremely unsatisfactorily. Last year only one-third of their capacities operated. The feed shops are used especially poorly in East Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan, Tselinograd, and Turgay Oblasts. At the same time more than 2 million metric tons of feed grain is presented in crushed and whole form, which severely reduces nutrient availability.

The speaker particularly noted the significance of feed quality. According to the chemical laboratories' estimates, last year the republic lost some 1.5 million metric tons of feed units, or nearly 10 percent of procurements, because of poor quality hay, silage, and haylage. The reason is mainly delays in feed procurement, which is particularly characteristic of Aktyubinsk, Uralsk, Guryev, and Taldy-Kurgan Oblasts. Last year even at the beginning of feed procurement the machinery here was not fully repaired.

As for the availability of feed production machinery, the only shortage was of silage harvesting combines. Given proper organization, it was possible to gather in the feed at the optimum time from the viewpoint of agricultural technology, so as to ensure maximum protein and carotene content, as is done in Kustanay Oblast.

It is necessary now to carry out a careful study for every oblast agro-industrial committee, rayon agro-industrial association, sovkhoz, and kolkhoz, so as to reduce as far as possible the time taken to procure hay, haylage, and silage and to ensure a breakthrough in this matter. The republic Gosagroprom is organizing at its plants the production of the KSS-2.6 silage harvesting combine. It is a question of making at least 1,500 of these combines a year in Kazakhstan.

In the last 20 years decisions have twice been adopted on bringing the republic's sheep population up to 50 million. Both decisions remained unfulfilled. Under our conditions, keeping sheep is economically expedient only in pastures, and there are not enough of these in the form in which they are used. The experience of the Zadarinskiy Sovkhoz in Chimkent Oblast shows that one can and must improve pastures, and comprehensively at that.

In addition to the enclosure of areas of land, it is necessary to build sheepfolds and houses for the herdsmen; each unit needs drinking water, and the area of such a pasture must be at least sufficient for one team of herdmen -- some 5,000 hectares. This package of operations will ensure both long duration and high efficiency.

Under these conditions, in the first year the feed value of pastures is doubled, even without agricultural technology measures. Subsequently, by means of undersowing the wild grasses, it can be increased threefold or fourfold. You need 2 hectares of such land to keep one sheep. And, most importantly, the herdsman's nomadic life ends -- his life becomes settled. [paragraph continues]

As such pastures increase, it is possible to talk seriously about increasing the sheep population. The cost per hectare is no more than R40-50. This method is widely used throughout the world, especially in Australia.

This year it is planned to carry out the entire package of operations indicated over a million hectares, as against 100,000 hectares last year. The capital investments and material and technical resources have been allocated for this purpose, and construction organizations have been prepared. Party obkoms and oblispolkoms must now establish strict monitoring of the implementation of this work. This applies particularly to Alma-Ata Aktyubinsk, Semipalatinsk, Taldy-Kurgan, Chimkent, Dzhambul, Kzyl-Orda, Guryev, and Turgay Oblasts.

Another matter connected with the "Feed and Protein" program: All oblasts except Guryev have submitted plans for feed production through the year 1990 which are much lower than envisaged in the program. The oblast agro-industrial committees must make appropriate changes.

Another, equally important reserve for increasing the production of livestock products is that of improving selection and breeding work on every farm. Yet on many farms the livestock reproduction service is in a sorry state, and poor grade sires are used. The state stud farms do not make sufficent use of the available highly productive bulls of imported and domestic breeds.

By no means do all the farms have sufficient delivery sections, veterinary calf pens, or shelters for lambs. In Kzyl-Orda, Turgay, Tselinograd, and Aktyubinsk Oblasts the provision of delivery sections is 67-78 percent, while in Uralsk, Karaganda, and Aktyubinsk Oblasts there are shelters for only 28-35 percent of the lambs. Analysis shows that the main fatal epidemics occur in the first months of life. Thus on average in the 11th 5-Year Plan the death rate among lambs up to 3 months old was 5.5 percent for the republic, but in Kokchetav and North Kazakhstan Oblasts it was more than 10 percent, and in Aktyubinsk and Karaganda Oblasts more than 7 percent. Poor work is being done to introduce the raising of calves in the open air, in individual pens, which makes it possible to increase conservation of young animals. In Aktyubinsk, East Kazakhstan, Uralsk, and Tselinograd Oblasts this method is not used at all.

Many farm leaders and specialists explain the sale of low grade milk in terms of trouble with tuberculosis and brucellosis. But many sovkhozes and kolkhozes which do well as regards infectious diseases still supply 30-40 percent of low grade milk. This is due to the violation of elementary technical and hygiene rules. It is necessary to ensure the uninterrupted operation of pasteurization and cooling equipment and to combat poor hygiene at livestock units. The production shop system of milk production and livestock reproduction is still being introduced too timidly. It is used on fewer than 20 percent of farms. The target for introducing it was not fulfilled in 1986 in North Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata, Aktyubinsk, Taldy-Kurgan, and Uralsk Oblasts.

An important source of additional meat and milk is citizens' private plots. Last year some 120,000 metric tons of meat, live weight, and more than 360,000 metric tons of milk were purchased from them -- far more than in the previous year. At the same time there was a considerable fall in meat purchases from the population in Guryev and Semipalatinsk Oblasts, and in milk purchases in Dzhamul, Semipalatinsk, Uralsk, and Aktyubinsk Oblasts. Far from all the available reserves for increasing the number of personal plots are utilized.

Beginning this year, a system of planning has been introduced on sovkhozes and kolkhozes whereby the development of both public-sector production and the private subsidiary plots of citizens living on their territory is taken into account. [paragraph continues]

At present some 30 percent of families of kolkhoz members, workers, and employees living in rural localities do not keep livestock under personal ownership, while 32 percent do not have cows. This situation must be rectified. At the same time it is necessary to step up exactingness toward leaders of republican ministries and industrial enterprises which have subsidiary farms. Attention to them has been slackened recently. In a number of places meat and milk production on these farms has fallen. This has happened in Alma-Ata, East Kazakhstan, Chimkent, and Karaganda Oblasts.

The incident of tuberculosis and brucellosis among livestock causes concern. The population owns many sick animals. Measures have been defined to give the republic assistance in combating this evil. Additional material resources have been allocated and the annual importation of some 100,000 heifers is envisaged. Thanks to the measures being adopted, the number of sick animals is falling, but not rapidly enough. On many farms plans to improve the health of the herd are purely formal. Their fulfillment is not under the constant monitoring of soviet and economic organs. In Turgay Oblast in the 11th 5-Year Plan livestock morbidity increased. The republic Gosagroprom, in conjunction with the oblasts, has now drawn up schedules for the sale of sick livestock linked to the capacities of canning plants. The speaker stressed the need for the most resolute measures to step up the struggle against livestock diseases, which annually lead to a shortfall of tens of thousands of tons of meat and milk.

One of the most important questions is the speediest introduction into production of the collective, family, team, and individual contracts. Matters must be organized in such a way that this year livestock raising goes over solely to the contract form of payment. The experience of many leading farms shows that where this form is correctly used, together with financial autonomy and the checkbook form of monitoring, results are rapid and effective. Many livestock units, fattening areas, poultry units, and teams of shepherds and cowherds are working on collective and family contracts. All other conditions being equal, they produce more output, the prime cost is lower, and labor productivity is significantly higher.

At the Dzhambul poultry unit 22 components have gone over to the family contract. They are united in two teams. Each component looks after laying hens, broilers, or ducks. The poultry unit collective fulfilled the output plan for 1986 by 13 August, and prime cost fell. The net profit from this was more than R1 million.

The poultry unit administration concludes a contract with each family component. For every percentage point overfulfillment of the plan, the workers received bonuses of 1 percent of the annual wage. Bonuses are added for saving direct expenditure. The poultry unit is constantly increasing the rate of production of output.

The speaker went on to discuss the great significance of a broad transition to contract teams with a small number of members. Experience shows that they offer the opportunity sharply to increase labor productivity. The Gosagroprom is drawing up practical measures to apply this contract method in different regions of the republic. In the agro-industrial complex system, study courses for milkmaids, cowherds, shepherds, pig keepers, and poultry keepers have been launhched. They study intensive techniques for the production of livestock products. Moreover a 36-hour study program is to cover team leaders, livestock unit chiefs, middle-level specialists, and chief specialists from farms, rayon agroindustrial associations, and oblast agro-industrial committees.

An important component in the process of bringing livestock products to the consumer is the processing enterprises. [paragraph continues]

Last year the meat and dairy industry saved 27,000 metric tons of meat resources and 488,000 metric tons of milk resources by using new technology. At the same time an analysis of the sector's work shows that reserves for savings are not fully used. Purely because of the nonfulfillment of the target for the production of milk and sour milk products with a fat content of 2.5 percent or more, they failed to save 4,000 tons of basic fat content milk. Raw milk is used especially poorly during processing at enterprises in East Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan, and Uralsk Oblasts; and raw meat at the Dzhambul, Turgay, Kustanay, Kokchetav, and Tselinograd meat combines. This year all meat and dairy industry enterprises have been given targets for the additional production of marketable products amounting to R61 million through the fuller processing of raw materials.

The speaker gave an assurance that the republic Gosagroprom will take every measure to promote the further intensification of the sector and an increase in the production of livestock products.

In his speech at the plenum, G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, said that in implementing the demands of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress, the CPSU Central Committee is increasingly exacting toward all party committees and various subdivisions of economic and other organs as regards reducing the time taken to resolve social questions, and especially such questions as food supplies. That is why the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat examined and put forward justified complaints about the preparation for livestock wintering in our republic. Appropriate instructions were given on the adoption of additional highly effective measures to increase livestock productivity and improve the return from livestock raising.

Serious reproaches for the state of affairs in livestock raising were expressed in the Central Committee resolution "On the Organizational Work of Voronezh CPSU Obkom To Increase Production and Purchases of Livestock Products in the 1986-87 Winter Period." And only recently, in December, the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On Additional Measures To Improve the Supply of Food Products to the Population."

The demands of our party's Central Committee are the logical continuation of the line elaborated at the Central Committee April plenum on accelerating economic development and resolving social problems. One key problem in this area is that of improving food supplies. This task has a whole series of aspects:

-- the full supply of potatoes and vegetables to the inhabitants of cities and settlements. This task is scheduled to be resolved in a 2-year period;

-- improving the supply to the population of hulled products, pasta, confectionary, dairy products, meat, eggs, and other food goods.

The approaches to tackling these problems are multifaceted, and they all depend basically on local party, soviet, and economic organs and the leaders who head territorial subunits. It is this feature which was everywhere most frequently lost sight of. It was veiled, and in order to justify themselves in public opinion, many party and soviet leaders themselves sought to exaggerate the difficulties of tackling these questions.

As for food supplies, in the attempt to justify defects in their personal work and their inability to organize matters properly, many people constantly claimed that we are in a zone of high-risk agriculture, and that this in itself implies inevitable failures.

So the grain shortfall was calculated in millions of tons, which does not sound so bad, and the fulfillment of plans, when it happened, was invariably calculated in billions of poods, emphasizing the scale and the tremendous difficulties which had been overcome somehow "despite unfavorable weather conditions." The Food Program indicators which were fulfilled were presented in an advantageous light, with appropriate laudatory commentaries. They kept quiet about the unfulfilled indicators, but constantly argued that we are resolving the Food Program. Yet the resolution of this program must be ensured by improving food supplies, and not by subjective self-assessments in which favorable comparisons are selected so as to highlight your own successes, which sometimes have not even been achieved. In resolving this difficult task the restructuring sets this condition: at all costs, to avoid empty talk and not indulge in self-assessments. Let the assessments be made by those for whom we are tackling these tasks. Let them notice the changes in the stores, and have their say.

In the past, to opinion was also established everywhere that, you see, the plan for the sale of the key agricultural products to the state is fulfilled, but Moscow does not provide enough funds, and there is nothing you can do about it. These arguments suited many people -- there was no need to show up those who were not doing enough for the people. And locally there were sometimes outright lies, often referring to bad luck with the weather.

Of course, we still depend on climatic conditions. But we must be objective in our assessments. Not objective in order to criticize not ourselves, but some other person who is no longer involved in affairs. No. What we need is not so much critical reports as analysis, practical ideas which would help to define a program of measures, a range of urgent tasks. And we must assess all this by the economic yardstick. And demand personal responsibility from everyone. In tackling food tasks we must tell people clearly that the personal responsibility is borne by the first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, and the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. And if a tendency toward deterioration occurs in the supply of food goods regardless of weather conditions, a tendency which people notice and feel the effects of, then this is how it must be interpreted: These leaders are bad.

A leader is responsible to the people, to the Communists, and to the party and soviet aktiv for the resolution of all social questions, both food supply and the improvement of the population's housing conditions and many other questions within the bounds of his territory. The same goes for the top leaders in oblasts, cities, and rayons.

A leader, adapting to concrete circumstances, should find those forms of influence, those approaches which will ensure the effectiveness of the measures adopted and secure the end result. And if today we are talking about the need to improve food supplies, then, for instance, the resolution of such problems as the supply of vegetables and potatoes should prompt the maximum activeness in the construction of vegetable storage facilities, cold stores, and stores for the sale of these products. That is, we must step up the construction of cold stores not by some miserly percentage, but by several hundred percent. So as to be able by the fall of this year both to grow and to lay in sufficient potatoes and vegetables to ensure uninterrupted supplies from one season to the next.

Today there are 0.45 square meters of hothouse space per urban inhabitant, whereas the norm is 1 square meter. What must be done to resolve this task in 2-3 years? Today it has been properly resolved in East Kazakhstan Oblast, and resolved better than elsewhere. [paragraph continues]

For the simple reason that the party organs on the spot took committed, purposeful actions under the leadership of the obkom. This means that such tasks can be tackled. It means that they are within the capacity of other party obkoms too. It means that we must set about resolving them without delay and set everything in motion right away to ensure that this task is fully resolved as quickly as possible. Our cold storage capacities are limited, and these are extremely necessary for the storage of fruit, meat, and fish. And we must approach all this with understanding, analyze it, and determine the measures to take.

In resolving this question, like many others, we must show devotion to the cause, from leaders of the republican party organization and party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms down to every Communist in the republic.

We are proud that the numerical strength of the republican party organization is in excess of 800,000 people. But is every one of them, with his party card in his pocket, devoted to the Communist Party's cause and its ideals? After all, Communists have no special rights except one -- always to be in the front line, where things are difficult. Being in the Communist Party and working actively in it is a kind of heroic zeal [podvizhnichestvo]. And a zealot is a person who has heroically taken on heavy labor and privations and torment for the sake of achieving a lofty goal, for the sake of satisfying people's ever growing requirements. Are all our people zealots? Are they all boundlessly devoted to the interests of the party and state? Especially now that the party has set the task of accelerated economic and social development and of restructuring work in all sectors. We must begin restructuring with the party aktiv and the apparatus of senior officials of the Communist Party Central Committee and other party committees. The party has always taken care to ensure that the standard of work of the party organs' apparatus is up to the tasks set by the concrete historical situation. V.I. Lenin pointed out that we must change "our party apparatus so as to adapt it to a changed situation."

This is the approach we are guided by in examining questions of increasing the role of the party apparatus and of restructuring party work, as was reported in the press on 4 January this year. At the level of the Central Committee Bureau and its apparatus, we have now actively embarked on resolving the tasks set: increasing the effectiveness of work and seeking the optimum ways of tackling the most complex tasks in connection with the restructuring. But we must be aware that the transformation in the thinking and actions of obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations, as well as various nonparty organs, is taking place more slowly than we would wish. And if today the workers of the Communist Party Central Committee apparatus are beginning to generate ideas for restructuring, all the other organs have yet to get off the ground: The well known principle of the "dying wave" is in operation, whereby the "tidal wave" emanating from the central organ gradually dies away into almost complete calm.

That is why at the party Central Committee plenum today we must declare resolutely, at the tops of our voices: The demand of the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum on increasing the role of the human factor is decisive at the present stage in achieving end results, concentrating efforts on ensuring these results, creating an atmosphere enabling us more accurately to hit a single target, and achieving a standard of party and state discipline which makes it possible to resolve all the huge tasks which face us. And here I would like to say that on questions of organizing people's labor, extablishing strictness in work and discipline, and imposing order in everything, the decisive role belongs to the top people: the first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, the obkom, gorkom, and raykom first secretaries, the oblispolkom chairman, the enterprise director, the kolkhoz chairman, the chief specialist, the shop chief, the section controller, the party committee section chief.

Today the question of the ability to work with people comes to the fore. The ability to lead them. And success awaits him who understands people, their moods and desires. Who knows how to organize their work so as to arouse and utilize everyone's activeness in the common cause. At the same time a leader, especially a top leader, must be resolute and firm. It must be said that those concepts are not identical. Resolve, in the direct sense of the word, means the ability rapidly to find the right solution to any task facing the collective, the ability not to lose your way in a complex situation and to find the optimum means of overcoming the difficulties which arise.

Firmness is unbending will, the capacity, once having set about a task, not to give up, to take it to its conclusion, the capacity to subjugate your energy and other people's energy to the attainment of the goals set. That is a trait of character. If resolve and firmness are harmoniously combined in a leader, then, as a rule, success is ensured. Of course, resolve must be prudent, just as firmness must be just and ethical. A firm style of leadership must be backed up by a just, ethical attitude to people. The moral right to display firmness belongs only to the leader who enjoys a reputation as a good proprietor and a morally pure and modest person, when people can see that he believes in their great potential and is leading them along the right path, that under his leadership the resolution of the tasks set and the attainment of the results needed will be ensured. These are the qualities of many of our party, soviet, and economic leaders.

At the same time we still have many leaders who were promoted through favoritism, because of nepotism and kinship, and not because of their practical or political qualities, and this has already been discussed.

Today we are not naming names, we are not setting the task of starting a purge of leadership cadres. No, it is a different matter: It is a matter of giving people the opportunity, the chance to strengthen their practical qualities in whatever post they are in, even if they arrived in that post because of not very party-minded approaches or reasons. We must display patience and tact. Especially since the forms of work which are being adopted, such as cadre certification and the renewal of character references, will help to accelerate the resolution of all questions concerning the establishment of justice. We must make sure everyone clearly understands that the party always supports and promotes those who confirm with practical deeds their conscientious attitude to their public and civic duty.

A leader must constantly work on improving his professional, ideological, and political standards, above all through self-education. Life does not stand still, it progresses rapidly, and in order not to lag behind its demands, a leader must take care of his own growth; he must increase his competence in the leadership and management of economic and social spheres and seek ways to rally people better and ensure that they heed your voice. That they know that all you say is true, that there is in your actions no falsehood: saying one thing, and doing another.

People want to see in a leader a lofty moral example. And when they come up against instances of empty talk and ostentation, when they see that a leader utters plenty of fine phrases but does not back them up with deeds, that he calls from the platform for the assertion of the principle of justice and socialist norms of morality, but does not himself observe them in his personal life and acts by no means in the best way -- all this arouses natural condemnation and distrust of him. A leader is responsible for everything in the sector of work entrusted to him. And the stricter a person is with himself, the more exacting he is toward others. And this is especially important for those whom the Communists have assigned to party work. [paragraph continues]

After all, they are given the right to lead, to educate, to promote people and to submit proposals for the dismissal of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic workers. That is, they are given the right to be exacting in assessing the work and behavior of other responsible cadres, and to use various forms and methods to ensure high discipline in all the multifaceted significance of that word. And above all, a leader is called upon to strengthen party and state discipline. Both of these incorporate a whole range of qualities.

Party discipline implies compliance with all our party's statutory demands, and above all such demands as modesty. To be modest means not only living within your means, but not doing for personal advantage something that your post enables you to do and that other people cannot do because they do not have the opportunity. After all, the people who abuse their official position are those who are enabled to do so by that position. A lathe operator, herdsman, or fitter cannot abuse his official position. It is people like these who sound the alarm about those who turn to their own advantage the rights and power invested in them. It is a very important requirement of party discipline that personal interests must not prevail over partywide, statewide interests. We must make this our rule: In the event of a leader's displaying negative qualities, he must be relieved of his post, expelled from the promotion pool, and thus automatically assigned to rank-and-file work in his speciality. After all, any job, even a lowly one, if you do it conscientiously, is a step, an opportunity for promotion.

Thus it is the task of the republican party organization to ensure that every leader and above all every Communist is devoted to the party's cause and its goals, dedicates himself to the struggle to put into practice the party's ideas and goals, and works hard and staunchly. And that he knows how to work without pay (some people will not even write a newspaper article without a fee), and works in a revolutionary fashion. That means, in order to achieve the tasks facing you, finding new, nonstandard approaches, paths, means, and forms which enable you not partially or barely, but radically, that is, in revolutionary fashion, to tackle problems and to surpass many times over what was a record yesterday.

Observing party discipline means being just and unprejudiced in your attitude to people's actions and deeds, and following these principles strictly; observing party discipline means exposing and resolutely combating shortcomings; observing party discipline means not only refraining, on your own account, from doing those things that the party is struggling against, but also being active in implementing the party's line.

State discipline implies strict compliance with state interests and putting a stop to all kinds of departmental or local narrow-mindedness, encroachments on socialist property, or violations of Soviet laws. The concept of "party and state discipline" is closely linked to the content of plan, financial, technological, labor, and social discipline, and so forth. And strict compliance means not permitting any deviation by a single iota, that is, not permitting even the slightest departure from the fulfillment of the entire range of questions connected with the criteria for evaluating party and state discipline. Everyone must strictly fulfill all these demands. If, say, you fulfill the plan but violate financial discipline, go beyond the bounds of the established norms of behavior, and fail to comply strictly with everything prescribed by party and state norms -- for a Communist, that is a violation of strict party discipline.

And what is strictness [strogost]? It is stringency, exactingness, meticulousness, and strict compliance with the norms of behavior accepted in society. Strictness does not mean applying the severest measure of punishment for a misdemeanor. [paragraph continues]

The measure of punishment may be sufficient only to destroy a person's conviction that his actions are not subject to punishment and are lawful, to nip temptation in the bud, to evoke the need to follow generally accepted norms meticulously. The concept of "strictness" is often confused with the concept of "harshness" ["zhestokost"]. Let us recall that harshness is the quality of a merciless, pitiless person who is capable of using immoral means and methods of influence on people who depend on him, displaying implacability and persistence in so doing. And we have received numerous alarm signals in letters and oral statements from many of the republic's workers who complained specifically about harshness on the part of a whole series of leadership workers invested with party and state power.

A manifestation of harshness is when the right to cut short misdeeds, endowed by your official position, is used unjustly, when the measure of punishment does not correspond to what was done. Or when you seek out features in someone's work which you know will compromise a worker and outwardly create the impression that he is useless, when the measure of punishment determined is dictated by the desire only to exact retribution and make it clear that a subordinate must fulfill the will and even the unjust demands of his chief. All this engenders servility, toadying, an absence of criticism or openness in work, and the desire to avoid the truth. Harshness is a concept directly opposed to humanity. Humanity means a humane attitude to those around you. A high degree of humanity and humanism was what our party's founder V.I. Lenin possessed, and that is why humanity is the basis of all work with the masses. Harshness has always been condemned and cut short by our party and has been given due assessments. Harshness is incompatible with a Leninist approach to people or with party-mindedness.

Establishing party strictness means pursuing a principled, just policy. That is why the republican party organization and the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee must display constant vigilance both in compliance with party strictness and in putting a stop to the least manifestations of harshness and persecution of cadres. And today's discussion, connected with the resolution of the most acute problem -- that of improving food supplies to the republic's population, and above all the supply of meat and dairy products, is closely interwoven with questions of stepping up the human factor and imposing due strictness and high mutual exactingness in the work of all party subunits and all leading organs in the republic and locally.

The question of observing strictness and justice in connection with the improvement of food supplies is being raised not so much in order to make reproaches as in order to seek ways of solving the problem. What were we doing to resolve the meat problem in our republic? After all, many people can remember periods when we traded freely in meat. What happened? This is what happened: State plans for livestock and poultry purchases were fulfilled only once in the last 10 years, and plans for milk purchases five times. A tendency for production to fall began to emerge for many types of meat as long ago as the 10th 5-Year Plan. Average annual pigmeat production fell by 21,000 metric tons compared with the Ninth 5-Year Plan, and lamb production by 8,500 metric tons.

In the 11th 5-Year Plan, despite the increase in the livestock population, it was not possible to reach the 1971-75 levels in the production of these types of meat. The debt to the state in the last 5-year plan was: meat, live weight -- 385,000 metric tons; milk -- 150,000 tons. The market stock of meat and meat products per inhabitant fell from 27.6 kg in 1976 to 26.9 kg in 1986. What is the reason for this situation? It is that the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, the republican government, obkoms, and oblispolkoms did not pay constant, practical attention to the sector or assess the state of affairs in a principled fashion. [paragraph continues]

They saw the main tasks only in the fulfillment of the grain procurement plan at all costs and in increasing the livestock population, frequently keeping quiet about shortcomings and emerging negative phenomena. In the 10th 5-Year Plan the republic reduced state meat procurements and failed to meet the targets set by the 14th Kazakhstan Communist Party Congress for increasing procurements of the main types of livestock products. Nonetheless in the report to the 15th congress it was noted that party organizations and soviet and agricultural organs had supposedly done great work to develop livestock raising.

In the 10th 5-Year Plan years, when the republic supplied the maximum quantity of grain, the provision of feed for the public herd was no more than two-thirds of the quantity needed, while average daily weight gain during fattening was half that required. Year by year the livestock population in the republic increased, but the feed base lagged further and further behind. Whereas in the 10th 5-Year Plan sovkhozes and kolkhozes used 30 quintals of feed units over the year for each standard head of livestock, 23 percent of which was in the form of concentrates, in the 11th 5-Year Plan only 28 quintals of feed units were used, while the proportion of concentrates fell to 19 percent. In terms of feed availability public-sector livestock raising suffered worse conditions even than in the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The productivity of public-sector livestock raising fell, instead of rising. The proportion of livestock supplied to the meat combines in poor nutritional condition increased. Thus in 1985 the average weight of cattle at the time of sale, for the republic as a whole, was 60 kg down on the 1980 level, while in Semipalatinsk Oblast it was 109 kg down, in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast 89 kg, and in Kustanay Oblast 70 kg. Milk yields per cow totaled 1,993 kg, or 102 kg less than the indicator achieved in 1980. Deliveries of beef of below average nutritional value increased. For lamb, this figure reached 46 percent, and in certain oblasts 60 percent. All this affected not only meat resources and meat supplies, but economic indicators too. In the 5-year period the sovkhozes and kolkhozes suffered a loss fo R640 million solely because of the sale of cattle and sheep at low weights and in poor nutritional condition. Major failings in the reproduction of the herd are a serious shortcoming in livestock raising today. Whereas in the 9th 5-Year Plan we obtained 72 calves per 100 cows, in the 10th this indicator fell to 69, and in 1985 only 67 were obtained. Every year nearly 400 farms fail to obtain calves from half their cows. Nearly 2 million ewes do not produce young. Moreover, over the 5 years expenditure on the maintenance of barren cows was more than R700 million. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes turned into enterprises for the purchase of calves from the population, because they lacked calves of their own. Thus in 1981-85 2.8 million calves were purchased, or 34 percent of the young obtained on the farms. How can the breeding herd be replenished and meat production increased, if instead of the minimum daily weight gain of 500-600 grams, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes obtain only 330-350 grams for cattle? But now the question arises, how, then, should the task be tackled? Are we going to give up the meat problem just like that? No, this task is capable of being resolved, and we must find the solution, so that people feel that this problem too is within our powers.

First and foremost it is a question of strengthening the feed base in such a way as to reliably guarantee the necessary increase in meat production. To this end we must define program measures, and this has been discussed at today's plenum. They must be measures not only to increase feed production, but also to ensure its rational utilization and prevent waste.

The question of wasting feed is no idle question. The republic's people's control organs have just completed a check on five oblasts: Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Kzyl-Orda, Turgay, and Uralsk. [paragraph continues]

And this is what emerged: In these oblasts the total kolkhoz and sovkhoz herd includes a significant number of livestock belonging to the private sector, including: 72,000 head of cattle, 420,000 sheep and goats, and 27,000 horses and camels.

And all these animals are fattened on state feed. In Uralsk Oblast, for instance, on 21 farms that were checked, there turned out to be 300 head of cattle, 286 sheep, 10 horses, and 200 hogs concealed from the accounts. Some 104,000 privately owned sheep, 26,000 head of cattle, and around 7,000 horses were kept in the public herd at the state's expense. A shortfall of 950 head of cattle, 300 horses, and 2,000 sheep was revealed. A total of 1,960 leadership workers in the oblast keep their livestock in the public herd, including 17 party workers, 22 soviet and trade union workers, and 22 workers from organs of the prosecutor's office, the courts, and the militia. In November-December the farms suffered detriment amounting to some R1 million because of this. Many people keep 250-280 privately owned sheep and dozens of head of cattle and horses in the flocks and herds.

On most of the farms primary livestock accounting and bookkeeping is in a state of neglect, and in the rural soviets the accounting of livestock under citizens' personal ownership is neglected. The violations in the oblast are on a mass scale -- what can one say about this? Of course, if a party leader or prosecutor gives instructions for his own animals to be fattened up in the sovkhoz or kolkhoz herd, he has to provide certain services to the farm leader who organizes it, and also to the herdsman, and has to act according to the principle "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." This principle has been condemned by the party and is the basis of the violation of all norms of justice, order, and the laws. And there is no doubt that in this matter order must be imposed firmly and irrevocably. It is another matter if the shepherd or herdsman himself keeps a certain quantity of his personal livestock in the public herd on pasturage. If he uses publicly owned feed, he has to do so under contract with the farm and has to sell meat to the state on an appropriate legal basis involving the payment of expenditure incurred by the farm. We cannot thwart those who fatten up livestock by their own labor to the benefit of society and in people's interests.

Party obkoms, oblispolkoms, and the republic Gosagroprom must carefully examine and assess unauthorized actions by leadership personnel who use hired labor, as it were, in return for services at the expense of the state and its interests. The real workers must be supported and helped to find legitimate ways of combining mutual state and personal interests. At the same time republican subunits and all party obkoms, oblispolkoms, and party gorkoms and raykoms, establishing strictness in work and strengthening party and state discipline, must define measures to increase livestock productivity and in particular ensure a sharp increase in weight gains in cattle, hogs, and other types of animals so as to ensure the fulfillment of the targets set and the overfulfillment of plans for meat products. Here it should be borne in mind that the entire above-plan volume of meat will be channeled into local supplies and into improving food provision to the republic's population.

This is the only way we can improve food supplies and do so not by a fraction of a percent, but on a larger scale, at a pace which will be perceptible and noticeable, so that meat products appear more and more on the store counters both at state prices and at consumer cooperative prices.

In this connection it is apposite to say that it is necessary to encourage and develop in every way, on mutually advantageous contract terms, the fattening of livestock on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in kolkhoz members' and sovkhoz workers' own yards. To this end the farms must allocate sufficient coarse and succulent feed, as well as concentrates as far as they can, bearing in mind that agricultural workers receive a significant quantity of feed concentrates through payment in kind. [paragraph continues]

The all-round development of livestock fattening on a contract basis on private plots will make it possible as early as this year on a considerable scale to increase the rate of growth of meat production and improve meat supples in all our republic's cities and settlements. At the same time it is necessary to display firmness of character in allocating meat products fairly.

It should be noted that today some 30 percent of meat earmarked for trade is sold through closed retailers set up illegally in various offices, institutions, ministries, and departments. All this means using your official position and seeking to create nonstatutory [nepolozhennyye] benefits for a certain category of people who regard themselves as belonging to a "privileged" society. But there are "statutory" benefits and there are those that are "earned" by virtue of the post held. Statutory benefits must be officially laid down, and there is no need to be afraid to talk about them. On the contrary, they must be made public, so that everyone knows what is an abuse and what is the legitimate enjoyment of a right duly granted.

Not statutory, but so-called "earned" benefits must be resolutely eradicated, stopped, and made known openly while the culprits must be called strictly to account, kept out of the leadership, and used only in rank-and-file work. Work is now under way to eliminate the so-called "closed" retailers and to hand over the meat products to the open trade network. There is no doubt that the measures being adopted to ensure the fair distribution of meat products and increase their production over and above plan targets could lead to perceptible changes for the better as early as this year. That is the task which must be resolved by the top leaders of party and soviet organs in the republic, oblasts, cities, and rayons.

The end result is a better assessment of the practical and political qualities of leaders at any level. The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee has defined the criteria for assessing the practical and political qualities of every leader, every Communist. This task is promoted by the renewal of character references, accountability of Communists to the primary party organization, and the certification of senior officials on the administrative apparatus.

Work is getting uner way and gathering speed. It will enable us easily to discover who obtained his place at the helm through favoritism and cannot confirm the necessary qualities in practice. Such people will, of course, have to be dismissed. Only those who have been promoted on merit, who can safeguard the sector or work in their charge and display the appropriate political and moral qualities, modesty, devotion to the cause, and respect for people's concerns, needs, and problems -- only such workers have the right to remain in the leadership today. There are many such people.

Talented people of different nationalities live on Kazakh soil. They have repeatedly demonstrated their remarkable abilities and achieved good results. So there need be no doubt that today too, in the conditions of a radical turnabout in all sectors of public life and of nationwide fervor and enthusiasm aroused by the decisions of the Central Committee April (1985) plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, the republic will ensure due restructuring and due results in both economic and social development.